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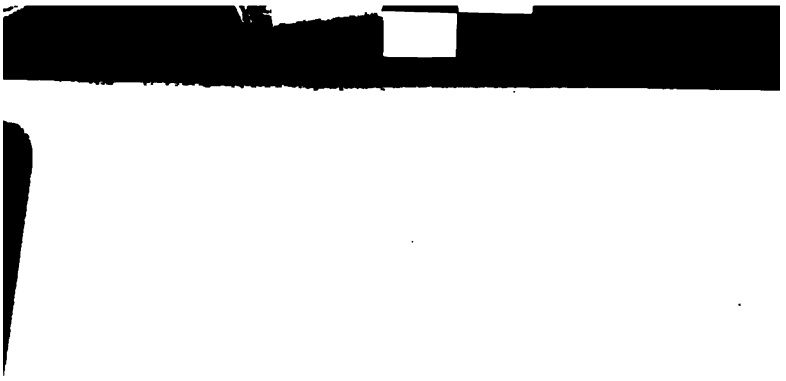
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ENGLISH WRITERS

AN ATTEMPT TOWARDS

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

BY

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XI

SHAKESPEARE AND HIS TIME: UNDER JAMES I.

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1895

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COME L' UOM S' ETERNA.

—*Dante.*

PREFACE.

BORN September 15th, 1822, the teacher and friend whose unfinished volume I have attempted to complete died in his seventy-second year on May 14th, 1894, at Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight. Only two years before, Professor Morley had written the name of that place beneath a memorial sketch of a fellow-worker who, like himself, "was slowly crowning his life's work with a History of English Literature," * when the hand of death had caused it to be "left a fragment." And as one reads again the words—"We sorrow for the loss of a strong man from the little field which to some is a happy playground, but to Professor ten Brink was a place of labour where each furrow ploughed gave hope of a harvest for the future," we feel that this utterance was but the echo of the spirit of devoted earnestness in which Henry Morley himself had wrought. Rejoicing in the treasure of England's literature, feeling that in it lay a potent influence for good, he had laboured both by spoken and written word to sow its seed in many a furrow, and to spread the knowledge of it to the uttermost, so that, according to the words of the poet whom he loved to interpret, what

* "E. W." viii. 415-6.

had been the "joy of one" might prove a "joy for tens of millions."

To him a book was no dead thing. It was, as it had been to John Milton, "the pretious life-blood of a master spirit, imbalm'd and treasur'd up on purpose to a life beyond life." He felt, and was able to make others feel, the humanity which pulsates in a true book, so that literature became instinct with life and a source of spiritual inspiration; the written words of the past he valued because he felt in them a power which could touch the life of the present and influence the future; and the last words of his last completed volume speak of "lives enwoven," of the "daily fellowship of kindred thought," and of that struggle in which

"All are working for the days to come."

Large-hearted and broad-minded, he would not seek to trammel in others the love of literary study which he had inspired. And as one great modern teacher has declared, "No true disciple of mine will ever be a Ruskinian; he will follow not me, but the instincts of his own soul and the guidance of its Creator," so in like spirit Professor Morley watched the growth of his literary children, rejoiced in their developing individuality, desired them reverently to follow their own bent as he had followed his, and cheered them along their chosen path, although he might not walk therein. Hence his students, though they may differ widely from him in their modes of work, will ever look lovingly toward the sacred hearth at which the Vestal fire was kindled, and will strive in their day, as he strove in his, to keep the flame clear and bright.

In yielding to the expressed wish of the family and the publishers that I should endeavour to complete this unfinished volume, it was my sole desire to carry out what might appear to be its plan. Unfortunately, Professor Morley left no notes. The book, however, was quite complete as far as page 161, and from there to the end of Chapter XII. (page 242) my work has simply been to correct the proofs, and make slight verbal changes, but otherwise alter practically nothing. Chapter XIII. had been arranged as far as the beginning of the analysis of "Philaster;" and although it was found needful to recast this, yet all that had been written has been incorporated in the text as it now stands, while the heading of the chapter gave the key as to what other matter it was intended to contain. It was deemed well that distinct reference should be made to one phase of literary criticism which has absorbed the attention of some students of Beaumont and Fletcher, and this has been done in the footnote on page 265, and more elaborately in the Bibliography under "Fletcher." Possibly those disciples of the modern critical school who may consider that Professor Morley was not quite at one with them in his methods and views, may feel, as they reflect upon the results thus set forth, that the author of "English Writers" had at least some reason for occasional scepticism.

The only means of knowing what Chapter XIV. was designed to contain was to trace the indications given in the previous volumes. These I have attempted faithfully to follow, and to adhere to the general design of the work; and I trust that I may rely upon the consideration of the reader in what has obviously been a somewhat

delicate task. The Bibliography, it is hoped, may be regarded as supplying any possible incompleteness in the text. In dealing with the Sonnets of Shakespeare, I have thought it best to give my own reading of them as poems, rather than to enter into the discussion of what seem to me untenable views. The Bibliography will enable the student to follow out these views for himself.

A bibliography and "list of helpful books" had been promised, and as this had to deal with four volumes and sixty years of literary production, the task was somewhat formidable. The publishers have throughout shown the kindest consideration for the difficulties which have arisen in the effort to make this as serviceable as possible. The material has been arranged in a form which personal experience has shown to be useful; and, unless otherwise stated, a complete classified list of works has been given. Accuracy and efficiency have been aimed at, but as so many errors have been found in the works of reference made use of, it is impossible but that mistakes and omissions have occurred. Up to the letter "N" my debt to the monumental *Dictionary of National Biography* has been great, although I have not failed to check that helpful work in almost every detail. Some of the notices are mainly based upon original editions; others, such as Andrewes, Bacon, Hooker, etc., upon standard editions; most of them upon the "reprints" of Arber, Bullen, Collier, Furnivall, Gosse, Grosart, Halliwell, Sommer, etc., which also I have been at the pains to verify. My thanks are due to the officials of the British Museum Library—indicated in the Bibliography by the letters "B. M."—for their unfailing courtesy, and for their readiness to help in the solution of

difficulties arising from the excusable slips of previous workers.

In spite of their deficiencies, I trust that these added pages may have some value as a slight supplement to the life-work of him who has now gone from us. The reader has before him the last written lines of the author of "English Writers," and as he turns to them may he not hear in the words of England's greatest poet the cheerful voice of Henry Morley?—

> "But be contented . . . . . .
> My life hath in this line some interest,
> Which for memorial still with thee shall stay.
> When thou reviewest this, thou dost review
> The very part was consecrate to thee.
> The earth can have but earth, which is his due;
> My spirit is thine, the better part of me."

W. Hall Griffin.

March, 1895.



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ENGLISH WRITERS.

BOOK X.

Shakespeare and his Time: Under James I.

CHAPTER I.

FROM ELIZABETH TO JAMES—FRANCIS BACON.

THE change of reign brought change of fortune to Francis Bacon and Sir Walter Raleigh. Bacon the new king favoured and advanced; Raleigh he ruined. We pass from the old reign to the new with Bacon, whom we left in the days of the Marprelate controversy, when, at the age of twenty-nine, he wrote dispassionately on the controversies of the Church.* That was in 1589, and in a note-book of Lord Burghley's, under date of the twenty-ninth of October in that year, there is entry of "a grant of the office of the Clerk of the Counsel in the Star Chamber to Francis Bacon." This was an office worth £1,600 a year, of which the duties might be done by deputy. But it was only a grant of succession to the living holder, who lived on through twenty years, during which time, said Bacon, the clerkship was as "another man's

Change of Times.

Francis Bacon.

* "E. W." ix. 308-310; x. 493.

ground buttailing upon his house; which might mend his prospect but did not fill his barn."

In February, 1592, Bacon had become intimate with Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. The friendship seems to have begun in 1591, when Essex was in his twenty-third year, Bacon in his thirty-first. As a youth of eighteen, Robert Devereux fought in the fray before Zutphen, where Sir Philip Sidney received his death-wound; and afterwards he married Sidney's widow, daughter to Sir Francis Walsingham. Francis Bacon introduced his brother Anthony to the young earl, whose character and high promise of future achievement, with help through the great goodwill of the queen, made him a patron worth securing.

In 1584 Bacon had entered Parliament as member for Melcombe Regis; in 1586 he represented Taunton; and he became member for Middlesex in the Parliament that met in February, 1593. One of the first questions before this Parliament was the granting of money to provide against danger from the Catholic Powers by which England was threatened. The Lords asked for a treble subsidy, payable within three years, in six instalments. Bacon assented to the subsidy, but raised a point of privilege in objection to the joining of the Commons with the Upper House in granting it. The point of privilege was overruled; the Lords and Commons did confer; the treble subsidy was granted, four years instead of three being allowed for the payment. Bacon had argued that the payment ought to extend over six years, for three reasons—the difficulty, the discontent, and the better means of supply than subsidy. His speeches on this occasion gave serious offence to the queen. He had no longer free access to her at Court, and this displeasure made her less ready to give him, over the heads of older lawyers, the office of Attorney-General, which presently fell vacant. It may have been about this time that Bacon wrote, or had written, two pieces,

Bacon and Queen Elizabeth.

perhaps meant to be spoken in an entertainment: one in Praise of Knowledge, the other—a much longer piece—in Praise of the Queen. This last, among many panegyrics, is the most elaborate and thorough-going that has ever been written upon her. The Earl of Essex did all that he could to influence the queen in Bacon's favour. The queen hesitated; dwelt on Bacon's youth and small experience—he was thirty-three; and in April, 1594, she gave the desired office to Sir Edward Coke, who was already Solicitor-General, who had large practice and high reputation as a lawyer, and was nine years older than Bacon.

But Coke's appointment left vacant the office of Solicitor-General. For this, suit was made with continued zeal, but in November, 1595, it was given to Thomas Fleming, Serjeant-at-law and Recorder of London, a man of marked ability and integrity, who was by seventeen years Bacon's senior. Fleming was born at Newport in the Isle of Wight, and was Chief Justice of the King's Bench when he established at East Standen in the Isle of Wight, in the year 1609, a club for quiet practice of the game of bowls.

Essex, generous and impulsive, wanted to make some amends to Bacon for his disappointment, and gave him a piece of land, which he afterwards sold for £1,800—say, about £12,000 at the present value of money. Before July, 1596, Bacon was made Queen's Counsel. At the beginning of May in that year Sir Thomes Egerton, who had been Master of the Rolls, became Lord Keeper. Bacon then sought in vain to succeed Egerton as Master of the Rolls. That was the year in which the Earl of Essex sailed for Cadiz.

Having fallen into debt, Bacon cherished, in 1597, a hope of marrying the rich young widow of Sir William Hatton, who died in March of that year. In October of that year, also, Bacon was returned to Parliament as member for Southampton. Essex endeavoured to help him in his

widow hunt. The lady, in November, 1598, married Sir Edward Coke.

In 1597 Essex sailed with another expedition to the Azores, where he was joined by Raleigh as rear-admiral. Raleigh took the town of Fayal, and was accused of breach of discipline; but nothing more came of that expedition, except the chance capture of a few rich prizes. When the fleet returned, in October, there had been alarm at home of Spanish invasion. A Spanish force had been seen from the coast of Cornwall; some of its officers had landed on the Scilly Islands. But again our loyal English weather had confounded the Spaniards, and that danger—the last of its kind—had been averted.

Bacon's Essays: First Edition, 1597.

It was early in February of this year 1597 that Francis Bacon—then thirty-six years old—published, with a dedication to his brother, dated on the thirtieth of January, "Essayes, Religious Meditations, Places of Perswasion and Disswasion." The essays in this first edition were only ten in number, and they dealt exclusively with the immediate relations of a man to life: his private use of his own mind; his use of it in relation to the minds of others; in relation to the interests of others; in relation to his own interests—personally, as in case of money, health, and reputation, and also as they were mixed up with the business of mankind. Thus the ten essays were:—1. Of Study; 2. Of Discourse; 3. Of Ceremonies and Respects; 4. Of Followers and Friends; 5. Of Suitors; 6. Of Expense; 7. Of Regiment of Health; 8. Of Honour and Reputation; 9. Of Faction; 10. Of Negotiating.

The relation of man to another world was left designedly beyond the range of this first little group of essays; but the omission was supplied in the same book by twelve essays of another kind—the "Religious Meditations," which next followed. These "Meditationes Sacræ" were in Latin;

their subjects—1. The Works of God and Man; 2. The Miracles of our Saviour; 3. The Innocency of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent; 4. The Exaltation of Charity; 5. The Moderation of Cares; 6. Earthly Hope; 7. Hypocrites; 8. Impostors; 9. Several kinds of Imposture; 10. Atheism; 11. Heresies; 12. The Church of the Scriptures.

The third section was formed by a group of what may be called ten essays of another kind—"A Table of Coulers, or Apparances of Good and Euil, and their Degrees as Places of Perswasion and Disswasion; and their several Fallaxes, and the Elenches of them." Colours meant circumstances which are likely to produce popular impressions and to sway the judgment of a weak man, or of a strong man not fully considering and pondering a matter. They persuade to error, and they also quicken the persuasion to accept a truth. Therefore, said Bacon, "to make a true and safe judgment, nothing can be of greater use and defence to the mind than the discovery and reprehension of these colours, showing in what cases they hold, and in what cases they deceive: which, as it cannot be done but out of a very universal knowledge of the nature of things, so being performed, it so cleareth a man's judgment and election as it is the less apt to slide into error." Elenches are specious arguments. Bacon takes a colourable form, such as this—"Let us not wander into generalities; let us compare particular with particular;" submits it to an intellectual analysis, and points out where its fallacies may lie; illustrating his argument with images that would themselves have force to persuade or dissuade. Thus the form, "Let us not wander into generalities; let us compare particulars with particulars," is met in three ways, which are illustrated by these three examples—"The blossom of May is generally better than the blossom of March; and yet the best blossom of March is better than the worst blossom

of May." "In many armies, if the matter should be tried by duel between two champions, the victory should go on one side, and yet if it be tried by the gross it would go of the other side." "Generally metal is more precious than stone, and yet a diamond is more precious than gold."

The little book, no bigger than the palm of a man's hand, in which Bacon made his first appearance as an essayist, is thus, throughout, an illustration of that genius for analysis, applied to the mind of Man, which he applied in his philosophy to outward Nature. He used the word "essay" in its exact sense. The Latin *exigere* meant to test very exactly, to apply to a standard weight or measure. The late Latin word *exagium* meant a weighing, or a standard weight; thence came Italian *saggio*, a proof, trial, sample; and *assaggiare*, to prove or try; thence also the French *essay*, and the English double forms, "assay" and "essay." An assay of gold is an attempt to ascertain and measure its alloys, and to determine accurately its character and value. An essay of anything in human nature submitted it to a like process within the mind: it was an "essay of" something, and not as we write, now that the true sense of the word is obscured, an "essay on." Strictly in that sense Bacon used the word, and the essays, in which we shall find his work running side by side with the development of his philosophy, have therefore a definite relation to it. The style of these brief essays, in which sentence after sentence was compact with thought and polished in expression until it might run alone through the world as a maxim, had all the strength of euphuism, and none of its weakness. The sentences were all such as it needed ingenuity to write; but this was the rare ingenuity of wisdom. Each essay, shrewdly discriminative, contained a succession of wise thoughts exactly worded. Take, for example, the first form of the first words of the first essay in this first edition: "Studies serue for pastimes, for ornaments,

and for abilities. Their chiefe use for pastime is in priuateness and retiring; for ornamente is in discourse; and for abilitie is in iudgement. For expert men can execute, but learned men are fittest to iudge or censure. To spend too much time in them is sloath; to vse them too much for ornament is affectation: to make iudgement wholly by their rules is the humour of a scholler. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by experience. Craftie men contemne them, simple men admire them, wise men vse them: For they teach not their owne vse, but that is a wisedome without them and aboue them: wonne by obseruation. Reade not to contradict nor to belieue, but to waigh and consider." And so forth; words like these being themselves considered by their writer, and made more weighty in subsequent editions. Small as the book was, the quality of Bacon's mind was proved by this first publication of his Essays.

Elizabeth's faithful Minister, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, died in August, 1598; Philip II. of Spain died a month later. But Spain still threatened England. Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, aided by Spain, was in arms in Ireland. Sir John Norris had died under the fatigues of conflict with him. The Earl of Essex—frank and generous, but hot-headed, obstinate, and indiscreet—was made Lord-Deputy of Ireland, with large power. He left London for Dublin, openly confident of his future achievements, at the end of March, 1599. In May he marched out of Dublin with 16,000 men. After showy movements in Munster that seemed purposeless, for his work lay in Ulster, he had, early in September, a force in Ulster facing that of the rebel army; but after a conference with Tyrone he assented to a six weeks' armistice, and agreed to make known to the English Government such conditions of peace from Tyrone as a conqueror might have dictated. Then he dispersed his

Bacon and the Earl of Essex.

army. The Queen wrote her disapproval; Essex left his command to hurry to her, and on the 28th of September, "about ten o'clock in the morning, alighted at the court-gate in post, and made all haste up to the presence, and so to the privy chamber, and stayed not till he came to the queen's bedchamber, where he found the queen newly up, with her hair about her face, ... and he so full of dirt and mire that his very face was full of it." He was commanded in the evening to keep his chamber. Next day he was examined before the Council, and was put under easy restraint—first with the Lord-Keeper, then in his own house. Tyrone rose in rebellion again; Lord Mountjoy was sent, whose action was efficient. Essex was then suspended from his offices of Privy Councillor, Lord-Marshal, and Master of the Ordnance. In August he was released from custody, but forbidden to come to Court. His monopoly of sweet wines expired, and Elizabeth would not renew the patent. Then his quick temper became rebellious. He had been in correspondence with James VI. of Scotland—by cypher in the hand of Francis Bacon's brother Anthony—to force from Elizabeth, now sixty-eight years old, a recognition of her successor. His impulsive dealing with this question perhaps introduced the considerations that had paralyzed his Irish policy. But Essex now passed into open rebellion. On the 8th of February, 1601, he and three hundred gentlemen, including Shakespeare's friend the Earl of Southampton, were at Essex House. The Queen sent the Lord-Keeper and other officers of State to ask the reason of the gathering. Essex contrived to lock them up in his library, and then, with his adherents, he rode out to raise the Londoners. His object was to seize Whitehall, and winning access to the Queen, compel her to dismiss her present advisers, and then call a Parliament. But he overrated his own influence with the people, and after some lives had been lost, retreated by

water to Essex House, burnt some papers, and was forced to surrender. That night the Earls of Essex and Southampton were prisoners in the Tower.

Queen's counsel—Bacon one of them—were called upon to inquire into this act of treason by examining the prisoners. They worked for seven days, in parties of not more than three, taking the several prisoners in succession. When Essex was arraigned, the evidence against him was produced by Coke, and Coke's way of letting it run off into side issues was rather favourable to the accused. Then Bacon rose—not being called upon to rise—pointed more strongly the accusations against his friend and benefactor, and brought the evidence back into a course more perilous to his life. "As Cain," said Bacon, "that first murderer, took up an excuse for his fact, shaming to outface it with impudency, thus the earl made his colour the severing some men and councillors from her Majesty's favour, and the fear he stood in of his pretended enemies, lest they should murder him in his house." The evidence proceeded, and Coke's method again gave the earl some advantage. Bacon then rose and said: "I have never yet seen in any case such favour shown to any prisoner; so many digressions, such delivering of evidence by fractions, and so silly a defence of such great and notorious treasons." And he proceeded again to urge the main accusation home against Essex.

On the 25th of February, 1601, Essex was beheaded, by his own wish privately, within the Tower. Upon Lord Southampton sentence was not executed, but he remained a prisoner during the rest of Elizabeth's reign. Justification of the execution of the Earl of Essex was entrusted to the advocate who had pressed with most energy the case against him at his trial. Materials were supplied in "twenty-five papers concerning the Earl of Essex's treasons, etc., to be delivered to Mr. Francis Bacon, for her

Majesty's service"; and Bacon's hand, following particular instructions as to the manner of treatment, drew up for the public "A Declaration of the Practices and Treasons attempted and committed by Robert late Earle of Essex and his Complices." Before its publication (in 1601) this declaration was discussed by councillors and queen, and underwent the alterations incident to such discussion.

Bacon had been living beyond his means, and was still seeking advancement. In September, 1598, he had been arrested for debt, but in the spring of 1601 his worldly means were somewhat improved by the death of his brother Anthony. He obtained a gift of £1,200, the fine of one of the accomplices of Essex, but he received no higher reward of his services before the death of Elizabeth, on the 24th of March, 1603.

After Elizabeth's death, Bacon prospered. He was made Sir Francis by his own wish in July, 1603, that he might not lose grade, because new knights were multiplying, and there were three of them in his mess at Gray's Inn. Essex had been active for James. Bacon told the Earl of Southampton that he "could be safely that to him now which he had truly been before;" and adapted himself to the new political conditions by writing a defence of his recent conduct, as "Sir Francis Bacon his Apologie in certain Imputations concerning the late Earle of Essex." To the first Parliament of King James, Bacon was returned by Ipswich and St. Albans. He was confirmed in his office of King's Counsel in August, 1604; but when the office of Solicitor-General became vacant again in that year, he was not appointed to it.

Under King James.

In 1605, about the time of the discovery of Gunpowder Plot, there appeared, in English, "The Twoo Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the Proficience and Aduauncement of Learning, Diuine and Humane. To the King." These

Two Books of the Advancement of Learning

—which, in 1623, towards the end of his life, re-appeared in Latin, expanded into nine books, *De Augmentis Scientiarum, Libri IX.*— form the first part, or the groundwork, of his *Instauratio Magna*, or "Great Reconstruction of Science." They were dedicated to King James, as from one who had been "touched, yea, and possessed, with an extreme wonder at those your virtues and faculties which the philosophers call intellectual; the largeness of your capacity, the faithfulness of your memory, the swiftness of your apprehension, the penetration of your judgment, and the facility and order of your elocution." Of the "universality and perfection" of his Majesty's learning, Bacon said, in this dedication: "I am well informed that this which I say is no amplification at all, but a positive and measured truth; which is, that there hath not been since Christ's time any king or temporal monarch which hath been so learned in all literature and erudition, divine and human." His Majesty stood "invested of that triplicity which in great veneration was ascribed to the ancient Hermes: the power and fortune of a king, the knowledge and illumination of a priest, and the learning and universality of a philosopher." It was fit, therefore, to dedicate to such a king a treatise in two parts: one on the excellency of learning and knowledge, the other on the merit and true glory in the augmentation and propagation thereof.

Two Books of the Advancement of Learning.

In his First Book Bacon pointed out the discredits of learning from human defects of the learned, and emptiness of many of the studies chosen, or the way of dealing with them. This came especially by the mistaking or misplacing of the last or furthest end of knowledge, as if there were sought in it "a couch whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground for strife and contention; or a shop for profit or sale; and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate."

The rest of the First Book was given to an argument upon the Dignity of Learning; and the Second Book, on the Advancement of Learning, is, as Bacon himself described it, "a general and faithful perambulation of learning, with an inquiry what parts thereof lie fresh and waste, and not improved and converted by the industry of man; to the end that such a plot made and recorded to memory may both minister light to any public designation, and also serve to excite voluntary endeavours." Bacon makes, by a sort of exhaustive analysis, a

ground-plan of all subjects of study, as an intellectual map, helping the right inquirer in his search for the right path. The right path is that by which he has the best chance of adding to the stock of knowledge in the world something worth labouring for, as labour for "the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate."

In working out this plan, Bacon begins by clearing the way to knowledge from "the discredits and disgraces which it hath received; all from ignorance, but ignorance severally disguised, appearing sometimes in the zeal and jealousy of Divines; sometimes in the severity and arrogancy of Politics, and sometimes in the errors and imperfections of Learned Men themselves."

Divines say that man fell through desire for knowledge; that Solomon censured much reading as a weariness of the flesh; that St. Paul warned us against being spoiled through vain philosophy; and that the contemplation of Second Causes derogates from our dependence upon God, who is the First Cause. But the desire for knowledge by which man fell was desire, not for the pure knowledge of Nature by the light of which the first man named the animals according to their properties, but for the proud knowledge of good and evil, with an intent in man to give law unto himself. There is no quantity of knowledge—nothing but God and the contemplation of God—that can cause the soul of man to swell. Solomon says that God hath placed the world in man's heart, yet cannot man find out the work which God worketh from the beginning to the end: declaring, not obscurely, that God hath framed the mind of man as a mirror capable of the image of the universal world, and joyful to receive the impression thereof, as the eye joyeth to receive light. That the work which God worketh from the beginning to the end is not possible to be found out by man, may be referred to the impediments, as of shortness of life, ill conjunction of labours, ill tradition of knowledge. But that nothing parcel of the world is denied to man's inquiry and invention, Solomon shows when he saith, The Spirit of Man is as the Lamp of God, wherewith he searcheth the inwardness of all secrets. It is not the quantity of knowledge, but its quality, that may be hurtful when it is not blended with its true corrective:—"this corrective spice, the mixture whereof maketh Knowledge so sovereign, is Charity." We must not so rest our happiness on knowledge as to forget our mortality; we must apply our knowledge to repose and contentment, not to distaste or repining. All knowledge is an impression of pleasure in itself; but when men fall to framing conclusions out of their knowledge, applying it to their particular, and ministering to themselves thereby weak fears or vast desires, there groweth that carefulness and trouble of mind which is spoken of:

for then knowledge is no more Dry Light, whereof Heraclitus the profound said, *Lumen siccum optima anima*, but it becometh *Lumen madidum* or *maceratum*, being steeped or infused in the humours of the affections.

Lastly, we must not presume by the contemplation of Nature to attain to the mysteries of God, for so we shall indeed be spoiled by vain philosophy. As a Platonist said, the Sun revealeth all earthly things but hideth up the stars, so doth the sense of Man discover Natural things, but it darkeneth and shutteth up Divine.

Divers great learned men have failed "whilst they have sought to fly up to the secrets of the Deity by the waxen wings of the senses." God worketh nothing in Nature but by second causes. Let no man fear that he "can search too far or be too well studied in the Book of God's Word or in the Book of God's Works, Divinity or Philosophy, but rather let men endeavour an endless progress or proficience in both: only they must beware that they apply both to Charity, and not to swelling; to use, and not to ostentation; and again, that they do not unwisely mingle or confound these learnings together."

Bacon turns next to the Political objections to Learning. It is said to dispose men to leisure and quietness, and make them slothful; whereas no kind of men love business for itself but such as are learned. It is said to undermine the reverence for laws and government; as if it were said that a blind man may tread surer by a guide than a seeing man can by a light.

Diminution of credit that grows to learning from Learned Men themselves, is either from their Fortune, or from their Manners, or from the Nature of their Studies. The first is not in their power, the second is accidental, the third only is proper to be handled. Of the first, Bacon notes that honourable poverty is often the lot of a worthy life; and if the learned then become teachers of the young, contempt of schoolmasters is only a fault of the surrounding ignorance, which hath taken no regard to the choice of schoolmasters and tutors. Of the second, Bacon says that no doubt among learned men, as among others, there are all accidents of character, but yet "so as it is not without truth which is said, that *Abeunt studia in mores*. Studies have an influence and operation upon the manners of those that are conversant in them."

It may be a fault in Learned Men "that because the times they read of are commonly better than the times they live in, and the duties taught better than the duties practised, they contend sometimes too far to bring things to perfection;" but against this they have in their reading caveats enough. It may be a fault in them that they prefer the good of their country to their own personal advantage; but only the

corrupt despise them for thus lowering their fortunes. They fail also often in the study to please single men whom they might wish to have for patrons, but the dedication of books to patrons is not to be commended, "for that books (such as are worthy the name of books) ought to have no patrons but Truth and Reason; and the ancient custom was to dedicate them only to private and equal friends, or to intitle the books with their names, or"—and here Bacon remembers that he writes this in a book dedicated to James I.—"if to kings and great persons, it was to some such as the argument of the book was fit and proper for; but these and the like courses may deserve rather reprehension than defence." Bacon's justification to himself would be that he was tickling the new king's vanity in the way that might best serve to get from him substantial aid to the advancement of learning. In all his labour to add to the sum of human knowledge, Bacon's thought was far-reaching, his ideal pure; he was subservient to no man, and had only Truth and Reason for his patrons. In much of his labour to add to the sum of his own worldly wealth—which he could never get to cover his expenditure—Bacon's aim was lower and more erring. His theory in this place as to the right limit of the observation of kings or other men rises above his practice when he says that "the honest and just bounds of observation by one person upon another extend no further, but to understand him sufficiently, whereby not to give him offence, or whereby to be able to give him faithful counsel, or whereby to stand on reasonable ground and caution in respect of a man's self: But to be speculative into another man, to the end to know how to work him, or wind him, or govern him, proceedeth from a heart that is double and cloven, and not entire and ingenuous; which as in friendship it is want of integrity, so towards princes or superiors it is want of duty."

Learned men also, said Bacon, may fail often to observe decency and discretion in their behaviour and carriage, and commit errors in small and ordinary points of action. Themistocles, when asked to touch a lute, said that he could not fiddle, but he could make a small town a great state.

Something may be said also in mitigation of the charge of meanness against those learned men who cultivate the favour of the rich. One asked Diogenes, in mockery, how it came to pass that Philosophers were the followers of rich men, and not rich men of Philosophers. He answered soberly and yet sharply: Because the one sort saw what they had need of, and the other did not. "These stoopings to points of necessity and convenience cannot be disallowed; for though they may have some outward baseness, yet in a judgment truly made they

are to be accounted submissions to the occasion, and not to the person."

Bacon turns then to the errors and vanities which have intervened among the Studies themselves of the Learned, and names three whereby Learning has been most traduced. These are, fantastical learning, contentious learning, and the last, delicate learning—vain imaginations, vain altercations, and vain affectations. In this last respect Bacon traced from four causes—admiration of ancient authors, hatred of the schoolmen, exact study of languages, and efficacy of preaching—the first distemper of learning, when men study words, and not matter. Words may carefully and properly be fitted to the matter, but whoever seeks truth will despise those superfluous delicacies and affectations, as Hercules when he saw the image of Adonis in a temple said in disdain: Here there is nothing sacred.

The second defect of Learning is worse than this, because vain matter is worse than vain words. "It is the property of good and sound knowledge," said Bacon, "to putrify and dissolve into a number of subtle, idle, unwholesome, and (as I may term them) vermiculate questions; which have indeed a kind of quickness and life of spirit, but no soundness of matter or goodness of quality." Here follows censure of the fruitless speculations in which the wit of man, working upon itself, produces cobwebs of learning admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit.

The third vice or disease of Learning concerns the support of untruth by blind faith in Historical Records, or false beliefs in Natural History, in Alchemy, Astrology, and Natural Magic, of which sciences, nevertheless, the ends or pretences are noble. Untruth is supported also by giving overmuch credit to authors in sciences, and making them dictators.

Besides these three Diseases of Learning, there are Peccant Humours that fall under popular observation and traducement. One is the extreme affecting of two extremities—the one Antiquity, the other Novelty. "These times are the ancient times when the world is ancient, and not those which we count ancient *ordine retrogrado*, by a computation backward from ourselves." Another Error "induced by the former, is a distrust that anything should be now to be found out which the world should have missed and passed over so long time." Another error is "a conceit that of former opinions or sects, after variety and examination, the best hath still prevailed and suppressed the rest; . . . for the truth is that Time seemeth to be of the nature of a river or stream, which carrieth down to us that which is light and blown up, and sinketh and drowneth that which is weighty and solid."

Other Errors are in the over-early and peremptory reduction of knowledge into Arts and Methods, and then abandoning the Universality, or *Philosophia Prima*. For it is not possible to discover the more remote and deeper parts of any Science if you stand but upon the level of the same Science, and ascend not to a higher Science.

"Another Error hath proceeded from too great a reverence and a kind of adoration of the mind and understanding of man: by means whereof men have withdrawn themselves too much from the contemplation of Nature and the observations of experience, and have tumbled up and down in their own reason and conceits." Another Error, that has some connection with this, is that "men have used to infect their meditations, opinions, and doctrines with some conceits which they have most admired, or some sciences which they have most applied."

Another Error is an impatience of doubt, and haste to assertion without due and mature suspension of judgment. Another, is the manner of the tradition and delivery of knowledge, which is for the most part magistral and peremptory, and not ingenuous and faithful; "in a sort as may be soonest believed, and not easilest examined." Men should propound things sincerely, as they stand in their own judgment, proved more or less.

Other errors there are in the scope that men propound to themselves, whereto they bend their endeavours; but the greatest error is the mistaking of the last or furthest end of knowledge, the glory of the Creator and the relief of Man's estate.

Bacon, having thus set forth the impediments to knowledge, seeks in the next place "justly to weigh the Dignity and Use of Learning in the balance with other things, and to take the true value thereof by testimonies and arguments Divine and human."

Its archetype is in the attributes and acts of God. In the Hierarchies of Dionysius the angels of love and of light, or of knowledge and illumination, are the Seraphim and Cherubim, who are placed above angels of thrones and principalities. Light which, in corporal things, represents knowledge in intellectual, was first created; and the hallowed day of the Creation was the seventh, wherein God contemplated His own works. Along a chain of such illustrations drawn from Scripture, Bacon passes to the saying of Christ: "Ye err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God"; "laying before us two Books or Volumes to study, if we will be secured from error: first the Scriptures, revealing the Will of God; and then the Creatures, expressing His Power; where the latter is a key unto the former."

The human proofs of the Dignity of Learning include records of

Trajan and other learned princes, including Queen Elizabeth, of whom this is Bacon's record: "This Lady was endued with learning in her sex singular, and great even among masculine princes, whether we speak of learning, of language, or of science modern or ancient, divinity or humanity. And unto the very last year of her life she accustomed to appoint set hours for reading, scarcely any young student in an University more daily or more duly. As for her government, I assure myself I shall not exceed if I do affirm that this part of the Island never had forty-five years of better times; and yet not through the calmness of the season, but through the wisdom of her regiment. For if there be considered, of the one side, the truth of religion established; the constant peace and security; the good administration of justice; the temperate use of the prerogative, not slackened nor much strained; the flourishing state of Learning, suitable to so excellent a patroness; the convenient estate of wealth and means, both of Crown and subject; the habit of obedience, and the moderation of discontents; and there be considered, on the other side, the differences of religion, the troubles of neighbour countries, the ambition of Spain and opposition of Rome, and then that she was solitary and of herself: these things, I say, considered, as I could not have chosen an instance so recent and proper, so, I suppose, I could not have chosen one more remarkable or eminent to the purpose now in hand; which is concerning the conjunction of learning in the Prince with felicity in the people."

That Learning has influence not only upon civil merit and moral virtue and the arts of peace, but that it enables men towards martial and military virtue and prowess, Bacon proceeds to illustrate in the persons of Alexander and Cæsar. After a glance at the "Anabasis" of Xenophon, Bacon proceeds from military to moral virtue, and illustrates the strength it draws from knowledge and contemplation. "For the unlearned man knows not what it is to descend into himself, or to call himself to account, nor the pleasure of that *suavissima vita, indies sentire se fieri meliorem*. The good parts he hath, he will learn to show to the full and use them dexterously, but not much to increase them: the faults he hath, he will learn how to hide and colour them, but not much to amend them, like to an ill mower, that mows on still, and never whets his scythe: whereas with the learned man it fares otherwise, that he doth ever intermix the correction and amendment of his mind with the use and employment thereof."

In power and commandment, knowledge is higher than all princes; for its command is over the reason, belief, and understanding of man, which is the highest part of the mind. "For there is no power on

earth which setteth up a throne or chair of estate in the spirits and souls of men, and in their cogitations, imaginations, opinions, and beliefs, but Knowledge and Learning."

Learning helps to fortune and advancement—more men have had their livings given them by Homer than by Cæsar; Learning helps to pleasure and delight, surpassing all other in nature; by Learning man ascendeth in the heavens where in body he cannot come; and Bacon ends with the Dignity and Use of Knowledge and Learning in that whereunto man's nature doth most aspire, which is immortality and continuance. "The images of men's wits and knowledge remain in Books, exempted from the wrong of time, and capable of perpetual renovation. Neither are they fitly to be called Images, because they generate still and cast their seeds in the minds of others, provoking and causing infinite actions and opinions in succeeding ages. So that if the invention of the Ship was thought so noble, which carrieth riches and commodities from place to place, and consociateth the most remote regions in participation of their fruits: how much more are Letters to be magnified, which as Ships pass through the vast seas of time, and make ages so distant to participate of the wisdom, illuminations, and inventions of the other?"

In the opening of the Second Book of the "Dignity and Advancement of Learning," Bacon directly addresses the king on behalf of the endowment of research, by help to places of learning (foundations and endowments, with revenues or privileges), books of learning (libraries and new editions), and the persons of the learned (endowment of Readers in Sciences, and reward of Writers and enquirers concerning any parts of Learning not sufficiently laboured and prosecuted). He regrets that Colleges in Europe are all dedicated to Professions, and none left free to Arts and Sciences at large; that teachers are ill paid; that the Universities of Europe are not working together with mutual intelligence; that there is want of intelligent oversight for the renewal of the system of teaching and fresh adaptation to new wants; and that there is no public appointment of writers and enquirers to make research "concerning such parts of knowledge as appear not to have been sufficiently laboured or undertaken." The removal of such defects is work only for kings, "towards which the endeavours of a private man may be but as an image in a crossway, that may point at the way, but cannot go it." But the inducing part of action to secure full culture of the fields of knowledge Bacon proceeds, as a private man, to undertake by "a general and faithful perambulation of learning, with an inquiry what parts thereof lie fresh and waste, and not improved and converted by the industry of man."

Then follows Bacon's analytical division and subdivision of learning into all its parts. It is either Human or Divine. In each case it appeals to the three parts of man's understanding—to Memory as History; to Imagination as Poesie; to Reason as Human Philosophy, or Divine Doctrine and Precept.

From each of these three main divisions of Learning there branch sub-divisions. "History is Natural, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Literary, whereof," says Bacon, "the three first I allow as extant, the fourth I note as deficient. For no man hath propounded to himself the general state of learning to be described and represented from age to age, as many have done the works of Nature and the state civil and ecclesiastical; without which the History of the World seemeth to me to be as the statue of Polyphemus with his eye out, that part being wanting which doth most show the spirit and life of the person."

History of Nature Bacon sub-divides into three parts—Nature in Course: that is, History of Creatures; Nature Erring or Varying: that is, History of Marvels; Nature altered or wrought: that is, History of Arts. Also of Civil History three kinds: Memorials, which are History unfinished, or first rough draft; Antiquities, which are History defaced; and Perfect History, which again divides into three kinds, as it is history of a Time, a Person, or an Action.

By such analysis Bacon obtains his map of the whole realm of knowledge, with comment upon every part, discrimination of the cultivated and uncultivated parts, the fertile and the barren. His three branches, from one centre, divide, and again and yet again divide, until they spread into a large circle of fine outmost twigs, each representing some one object of study. The right student, beginning anywhere at the circumference, seeks inward for the point of union with another study, from a particular truth to a more general truth (or law); and from that, led inward still, by the way of search that is therefore called inductive, he approaches ever nearer to the point from which all branches of human knowledge have their beginning. For all that is within us and without us is but as the expansion of one thought of an All-Wise Creator.

This inductive method we shall find, when Bacon has advanced to his full definition of the right way of research, is a condition of success in the discovery of those great Laws of Nature from which are then to be deduced all possible applications of their powers to the use of man.

"Thus," Bacon says, at the end of his Second Book of the "Advancement of Learning," "I have made, as it were, a small Globe of the Intellectual World, as truly and faithfully as I could discover, with a note and description of those parts which seem to me not constantly

occupate, or not well converted by the labour of Man. . . In anything that is well set down, I am in good hope, that if the first reading move an objection, the second reading will make an answer. And in those things wherein I have erred, I am sure I have not prejudiced the right by litigious arguments, which certainly have this contrary effect and operation, that they add authority to error and destroy the authority of that which is well invented. For question is an honour and preferment to falsehood, as on the other side it is a repulse to truth. But the errors I claim and challenge to myself as mine own. The good, if any be, is due, *tanquam adeps sacrificii*, to be incensed to the honour first of the Divine Majesty, and next of your Majesty, to whom on earth I am most bounden."

In May, 1606, Bacon, aged forty-six, married Alice Barnham, daughter of a London merchant who was dead, and whose widow had taken in second marriage Sir John Pakington, of Worcestershire. The lady had £220 a year, which was settled on herself. In June, 1607, Sir Francis Bacon became Solicitor-General. While rising in his profession, he was still at work on writings that set forth portions of his philosophy. In 1607 he sent to Sir Thomas Bodley his *Cogitata et Visa*—a first sketch of the *Novum Organum*. In 1608—the year of John Milton's birth—Bacon obtained the clerkship of the Star Chamber, worth £1,600 a year, of which the reversion had been given him in 1589.

In 1612 appeared, in November or December, Bacon's Second Edition of the Essays; there had been, since the first, two unauthorised editions, in 1598 and 1606. In Bacon's own second edition the number of the essays was increased from ten to thirty-eight, and those formerly printed had been very thoroughly revised. The range of thought, also, was widened, and the first essay was "Of Religion." The purpose of dedicating this edition to Prince Henry was stopped by the prince's death, on the 6th of November.

Bacon's Essays. Second Edition. 1612.

Bacon's Essays disclose to us counsels of life by a man

of the rarest intellect, with weight of thought in every sentence. But in his own life Bacon proved himself wanting, just where he is found wanting in his Essays. Life is directed best by those who allow due influence to each of its elements in man—the will, the intellect, and the emotions; and Bacon's failures, both as actor in life and as interpreter of action, may depend chiefly, as Dr. Kuno Fischer has suggested, upon undue predominance of the intellectual over the emotional part of a man's nature. Its imperfection in himself made it also less easy for him to understand its operation in the minds of others. Bacon was not—what no being upon earth can be—"the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind;" he never consciously said to himself, "Evil, be thou my good." Emotion being out of place in philosophical researches into Nature, Bacon's inductive philosophy went straight to its aim when he endeavoured to guide men's minds into the one way of profitable research. But the modifications of men's speech and actions that are due to the just influence of feeling, are so far essential to the right conduct of life that whoever wants or avoids the prompting to them cannot live long without blundering very gravely more than once: as Bacon did. He was well read in Machiavelli, whose keen intellect he appreciated; indeed, from the fifth chapter of the second book of Machiavelli's "Discourses upon Livy" Bacon took suggestion of his Essay of "Vicissitudes of Things." There is a touch of Machiavelli often in Bacon's counsels of life, without the subtle irony of the Italian; they are all wise, but they are not the whole abstract of worldly wisdom, and sometimes—not often—they sink where they should rise.

Bacon kept his first little book of Essays by him, adding, altering, and writing more, as inclination or occasion prompted. They had increased in number from ten to thirty-eight when he produced an edition of them in 1612; and in

his last edition of them, that was issued as "newly written" in the year before his death, the number had risen to fifty-eight. That is their final form.

In February, 1613, Bacon contrived for the gentlemen of Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple a "Masque of the Marriage of the Thames and the Rhine," on the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine. In October, 1613, Bacon was made Attorney-General. The dispassionate mind that his philosophy required, Bacon applied somewhat too coldly to the philosophy of life. Without hatreds or warm affections, preferring always a kind course to an unkind one, but yielding easily to stubborn facts in his search for prosperity, Bacon, I have said, failed as a man, although he had no active evil in his character, for want of a few generous enthusiasms. Seeking to please a mean master, who was the dispenser of his earthly good, in 1614 Bacon was official prosecutor of Oliver St. John, a gentleman of Marlborough, who had written a letter to the mayor of his town on the illegality of the king's act in raising money by benevolences. In December of the same year the Rev. Edmund Peacham, a clergyman seventy years old, rector of Hinton St. George, Somersetshire, was deprived of his orders by the High Commission for accusations against his diocesan. In searching his house, a manuscript sermon was found, which had been written, but not preached. It censured acts of the king—as sale of Crown lands, gifts to favourites—and seems to have suggested that the recovery of Crown lands to the people might cost blood. The old clergyman was, by the king's desire, accused of treason, and was twice put to the rack, that accusation of himself or others might be wrung from him. As Attorney-General, Bacon, serving his master, discussed privately with the judges in furtherance of the king's desire that Peacham might be convicted of treason for the composition

Bacon and King James.

of the sermon without any act of publication. They would not see with the king's eyes or follow Bacon, who wrote to the king of his foregone conclusion as "the truth," and expressed his hope of the judges that "force of law and precedent will bind them to the truth; neither am I wholly out of hope that my Lord Coke himself, when I have in some dark manner put him in doubt that he shall be left alone, will not continue singular." As nothing could be done in London, the old clergyman was sent to Taunton Assizes, where a conviction was secured in August, 1615; but the sentence of death was not carried out, because many of the judges were of opinion that Peacham's offence was not treason. He died, in 1616, a prisoner in Taunton Gaol. In 1616—the year of Shakespeare's death—Bacon was made a Privy Councillor.

The record of the last ten years of Bacon's life—he died on the ninth of April, 1626—belongs to the next volume of this history. But in Shakespeare's lifetime the whole plan of Bacon's philosophical teaching was devised, its aims were known, the system of his *Instauratio Magna* was being built up, and we may take it now into the story.

Bacon arranged his writings for the "Instauratio Magna" into six divisions:—1. The books on the "Dignity and Advancement of Learning"—the ground plan; 2. The "Novum Organum," of which only the first part was executed, showing what was the new instrument, or method of inquiry, which he substituted for the old instrument, the "Organon" of Aristotle; 3. The "Experimental History of Nature; or, Study of the Phenomena of the Universe." In this division Bacon's most complete work was the "Silva Silvarum; or, Natural History in Ten Centuries." Then came the science raised on these foundations, in, 4, the "Scala Intellectus; or, Ladder of the Understanding," which leads up from experience to science; 5. "The Prodromi; or,

"Instauratio Magna."

the Anticipations of the Second Philosophy"—provisional anticipations founded on experience, which the investigator needs as starting-points in his research; and, 6, "Active Science"—experiment in the fair way to such gains of knowledge as may benefit mankind.

Bacon opposed to the "Organon" of Aristotle, which only analysed the form of propositions, his "New Organon," which sought a method of analysis that would attain discoveries enlarging the dominion of man. "Human science," he said, "and human power coincide." Invention must be based upon experience; experience be widened by experiment. Bacon's highest and purest ambition was associated with his lifelong endeavour to direct the new spirit of inquiry into a course that would enable men "to renew and enlarge the power and dominion of the human race itself over the universe. . . . Now, the dominion of men over things depends alone on arts and sciences; for Nature is only governed by obeying her." Bacon had no sympathy whatever with research that consists only in turning the mind back on itself. For him the mind was a tool, and Nature the material for it to work upon. The only remaining way to health," he said, "is that the whole work of the mind be begun afresh, and that the mind, from the very beginning, should on no account be trusted to itself, but constantly directed." All knowledge comes to men from without, and the laws to which we can subject natural forces are to be learnt only from the interpretation of Nature. In former days invention had been left to chance, and science had been occupied with empty speculations. A way of inquiry should be used that will lead—be inductive—from one experience to another, from the operation to the law, not by chance, but by necessity. Hence Bacon's method has been called inductive; but the second and main part of his philosophy was, after arriving by this method at a truth in Nature, to deduce therefrom

its uses to man. Having found, for example, by inductive experiment, a general truth about electricity, the crowning work of the Baconian philosophy would be to deduce from it the lighted town and the Atlantic cable.

Bacon taught that the inquirer was to take as frankly as a child whatever truths he found. He compared human knowledge with divine, of which it is said, "Except ye become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." And he too said, "Little children, keep yourselves from idols." "The idols," Bacon said, "and false notions which have hitherto occupied the human understanding, and are deeply rooted in it, not only so beset the minds of men that entrance is hardly open to truth; but even when entrance is conceded, they will again meet and hinder us in the very reconstruction of the sciences, unless men, being forewarned, guard themselves as much as possible against them." He therefore classified the common forms of false image within the mind to which men bow down. They are Idols (1) of the Forum or Market-place (*Idola Fori*), when we take things not for what they are, but for what the common talk, as of men in the market-place, considers them to be; they are Idols (2) of the Theatre (*Idola Theatri*), when we bow down to authority, or fear to differ from those who have played great parts on the world's stage; Idols (3) of Race or Tribe (*Idola Tribus*) are "founded," says Bacon, "in the very tribe or race of men. It is falsely asserted that human sense is the standard of things," for the human intellect, blending its own nature with an object, distorts and disfigures it. There are Idols also (4) of the Cave or Den (*Idola Specus*); these are the accidental faults and prejudices of the individual inquirer. The Idols, in fact, are but an ingenious device for fixing on the mind Bacon's analysis of prepossessions that interfere with the simple acceptance of some possible new truth. They are from the life without and from the life within us. From without, the

tendency to think with the ill-taught many, or the well-taught few; from within, tendencies to be guided by the sense that we have in common with all other men, or by the prejudices proper to ourselves. Thus the time was when a man might believe that the sun went round the earth, because everybody thought so (Idol of the Market-place); Ptolemy taught so (Idol of the Theatre); his own eyes showed it to be so (Idol of the Tribe); and "Don't tell *me*, *I know* it does" (Idol of the Cave or Den).

On his guard against these idols, the philosopher who follows Bacon's teaching trusts to pure experience. Everything in Nature appears under certain conditions. Comparative experiments can be made to determine which of these conditions are essential, and which accidental. Thus we may advance from fact to fact, till, by successive testings and comparisons of fact, we reach one of the laws by which the course of Nature is determined. So we ascend, by the method of induction, from the experiment to the axiom. But experiment may seem to have found a law with which some fact—some "negative instance"—is at odds. This contradiction must not be put out of sight, but taken simply as against acceptance of the law till it be reconciled therewith. Nay, more: the investigator must use all his wit to invent combinations able to disprove his supposed fact, if it be no fact; he must seek to invent negative instances, acting as counsel against himself until assured that his new fact will stand firm against any trial. "I think," said Bacon, "that a form of induction should be introduced which from certain instances should draw general conclusions, so that the impossibility of finding a contrary instance might be clearly proved." When so assured that it stands firm, the inquirer may announce his new truth confidently, and either deduce from it himself or leave others to deduce its use to man.

In this philosophy Bacon did no more than express

formally, distinctly, and with great influence over the minds of others, what had always been the tendency of English thought. His namesake, Roger Bacon, in the thirteenth century, had pursued science very much in the same spirit, and had nearly anticipated Francis Bacon's warning against the four idols,* in his own four grounds of human ignorance. We must not forget, also, when we find feebleness in the scientific experiments of Bacon and his first followers, with the retention of much false opinion about Nature, that what Bacon professed was to show, not grand results, but the way to them. He bade his followers "be strong in hope, and not imagine that our 'Instauratio' is something infinite and beyond the reach of man, when really it is not unmindful of mortality and humanity; for it does not expect to complete its work within the course of a single age, but leaves this to the succession of ages; and lastly, seeks for science, not arrogantly within the little cells of human wit, but humbly, in the greater world."

"E. W.," iii. 321.

CHAPTER II.

"MEASURE FOR MEASURE" AND "OTHELLO."

"Measure for Measure."

It has been inferred from two passages in Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure" that it was written at the beginning of the reign of James I. Steevens quoted a passage from a "True Narration of the Entertainment of the King in his Progress from Edinburgh to London," printed in 1603, which says that "he was faine to publish an inhibition against the inordinate and dayly accesse of people comming." Shakespeare refers twice in this play to a sovereign's avoidance of a press of people. In the first scene of the First Act, the Duke says—

> "I'll privily away: I love the people,
> But do not like to stage me to their eyes.
> Though it do well, I do not relish well
> Their loud applause and Aves vehement;
> Nor do I think the man of safe discretion
> That does affect it."

In the fourth scene of the Second Act the allusion seems to be still more definite—

> "And even so,
> The general, subject to a well-wished king,
> Suit their own part, and in obsequious fondness
> Crowd to his presence, where their untaught love
> Must needs appear offence."

The inference of date is not unreasonable, and we may accept the general opinion that "Measure for Measure"

was produced in 1603 or 1604. There was no early quarto of the play, and it was not printed before it appeared in the first folio of 1623.

It is founded on a story in the Hecatommithi, or Hundred Novels of Giovanbattista Giraldi Cinthio, where it is the fifth novel of the eighth set of ten. Here the sovereign is the Emperor Maximian, who ruled wisely and entrusted to his ministers the government of states; and to one, Juriste, who was very dear to him, he entrusted the government of Innsbruck, with command that he was to be inviolably just. All slips would be forgiven, but there would be no pardon for injustice. Then Juriste condemned to death a youth named Vico, under conditions like those which lead in Shakespeare's play to the condemnation of Claudio. Vico's sister, Epitia, pleads for him as Claudio's sister Isabella pleads; and then yields to the unjust governor, as Isabella does not yield, on condition that he will marry her and save her brother's life. Both promises are broken. Vico is on the same night executed in prison by Juriste's order, and his head is sent to Epitia. Epitia goes in her grief to the Emperor Maximian. Juriste is condemned to execution, after marriage with Epitia. But after marriage the wife pleads for him, and Maximian cannot deny the prayer of the woman who forgave so much; then Juriste loves her dearly through all the days of the life he owes to her.

Upon the lines of this novel George Whetstone* built, with changes of name and place and interweaving of episode, a play of "Promos and Cassandra," so arranged as to form two plays, each of five acts. This work belongs to the first years of the English drama, when plays were acted in inn-yards or hired rooms, and only two years after a theatre was first built. George Whetstone was a poet in good repute when he printed the two parts of his

* "E. W.," viii. 283-5.

"Right excellent and famous Historye of Promos and Cassandra," in 1578. Four years afterwards, in his "Heptameron of Civil Discourses" (1582), Whetstone told the story again as a prose novel, and joined to it, as a marginal note, the statement that "this Historie, for rarenes thereof, is lively set out in a Comedie by the Reporter of the whole worke, but yet never presented upon stage."

Upon this unacted play of "Promos and Cassandra" Shakespeare founded his "Measure for Measure," with some very significant changes in the story. Whetstone, whose intention is entirely moral, sets the story among subordinate characters who represent at large the licence and corruption of the times. Shakespeare saw the artistic use of this, and summed it all up in his characters of Mistress Overdone, her servant Pompey (another Rosko), and the empty-headed trifler, Lucio, who represents in light but firm touches the fashionable form of "simple Pleasure foraging for Death."

In other respects the recasting of the story is thoroughly Shakespearean. No gross stain is allowed upon the sister's character. She is elevated into one devoted to God's altar, about to take vows of celibacy, incapable of taking stain. Before she tells her brother in what way she has been asked to save him, there are touches of womanly dread on his behalf, lest he should be tempted to ask of her the sacrifice; and when the temptation grows upon him with the dread of death, the very soul of a true womanhood flashes out against him. Shakespeare invents the character which moved Tennyson to sing of Mariana in the Moated Grange, and shapes his tale to the last in the spirit of love, justice, and mercy. In Cinthio's novel the condemned brother is really executed in the prison. In Whetstone's version he is supposed to have been so executed, but a felon's head has been sent in

place of his. In Shakespeare, not only is there no execution at all—the head sent being that of a pirate who had died of fever in the prison—but a hardened murderer who has been long in prison, whose brutalised nature is distinctly shown, has been proposed as one who can be executed, and he is spared because he is not fit to die. Again, it is Shakespeare's own device to keep his Duke upon the scene, going to and fro as a good genius, thus taking away from the tragic incidents every suggestion that there may be an unhappy end. With tragic movement, and with an executioner among the characters, the play is so contrived that not only is nobody killed (Lucio indeed reaps what he has sown), but nobody is permanently wronged. The whole atmosphere is, at the close, of pardon and of kindly consideration that even reaches to the brutish Barnardine.

Angelo, who had been self-righteous, deeply repentant at the close, is taught his lesson, the sacred lesson of the play:—"Judge not, that ye be not judged: for with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." To these words of Christ, which are at the heart of Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure," there may be joined those words of Paul which follow his contrast between works of the Flesh and fruits of the Spirit:—"Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted. Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ. For if a man think himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself."

"Othello."

Since there has been manipulation of the "Egerton Papers," published by the Camden Society, and of the "Accounts of the Revels," published by the old Shakespeare Society, we cannot say with

confidence on their authority that "Othello" was acted at Harefield before Queen Elizabeth in August, 1602, and again at Court on the 1st of November, 1605. The first quarto of the play was entered at Stationers' Hall by Thomas Walkley on the 6th of October, 1621, and published in 1622, with a short preface from "The Stationer to the Reader," to which Thomas Walkley signed his name. The play was next printed in the first folio of 1623. Seven years later there was another edition in quarto. This quarto of 1630 gives distinct aid to the ascertaining of the text.

The source of the story is the seventh Novel of the third Decade in Cinthio's "Hecatommithi," of which there was an early translation into French, and there may have been an early translation into English. In English, French, or Italian, Shakespeare certainly had read it.

Shakespeare has planned his tale to represent the ruin of a noble nature that has allowed one evil passion to obtain dominion over it. The theme here is jealousy—the deadliest disease of love; but in this respect what is true of one passion is true of all. Only a cunning villainy could infect the mind of Othello with its poison. In the distribution of the story of the play into its five acts—Act I. introduces the villain, shows his character, his opportunity, and first conception of his plot; Act II., the beginning of its execution by treacherous devices against Cassio; Act III., the devices against Cassio brought into action against Othello, the first planting of jealousy, and forecast of its cruel end; Act IV., the passion in full blaze, its fire fed craftily; Act V., the devastation that its fury caused.

Othello is an energetic soldier of ripe years, a swarthy Moor, not a black negro, although Roderigo scornfully confounds the two races by calling him "the thick-lips." It was a custom in Italian free cities to dread placing

command over their soldiery in the hands of one of their own citizens, who might use the force at his disposal for the winning of sole mastery. A vigorous chieftain of a race that could claim kindred with no faction in the city was the general to be preferred, and there could be nothing better than a noble Moor of royal blood with a genius for war, like Othello.

Much stress is laid by Shakespeare on the marriage of Othello to Desdemona as a marriage of true minds. There is emphasis in the lines,

> "She loved me for the dangers I had passed,
> And I loved her that she did pity them;"

in Desdemona's words,

> "I saw Othello's visage in his mind;
> And to his honours and his valiant parts
> Did I my soul and fortunes consecrate."

There is like emphasis in Othello's support to Desdemona's prayer that she might go with him to Cyprus,

> "Vouch with me, Heaven, I therefore beg it not
> To please the palate of my appetite."

He is away to Cyprus on his marriage night for action against immediate danger from the Turk "with all his heart." It is this purity of love that makes the foul suggestions of Iago against Desdemona, when he is led to believe them, loathsome and intolerable. Iago himself describes the man against whom he practises:

> "The Moor is of a free and open nature,
> That thinks men honest that but seem to be so;"

And again,

> "The Moor—howbeit that I endure him not—
> Is of a constant, loving, noble nature."

Iago is a young man of twenty-eight, selfish and cynical. "I have looked," he says, "upon the world for four times seven years." He gives to his cynicism the shape of a blunt honesty, and has, so far, played the hypocrite successfully, veiling his private frauds and villainies by such practice as is shown throughout the story of "Othello." Here to the last his mask covers the malice of a devil, until a sudden turn of the wheel of fortune shakes it off and shows him as he is. But his cunning has enabled him to live undetected to the age of twenty-eight. His bold cynicism, that takes the shape of knowledge of the world, with aid from the subtleties of his hypocrisy, makes him appear to his general, to the world, and even to the wife he plagues, "honest Iago." He deceives only the more easily because he seems to be a man who cannot flatter. Iago is one of two characters in Shakespeare who are more devils than men in their malice. The other is Richard III. To each the Master Poet gives what Spenser made a name for the Devil, Hypocrisy—Spenser's other name for Archimago, Father of Wiles—as the main outward feature. To each he gives Self for the only God. And to each he gives the language of the cynic, and that use of a hard sarcasm which he associates only with all that is worst in man. The playful rallying with which men and women often attack most vigorously those whom they love best—like the wit combats of Benedick and Beatrice—is not, indeed, the business of life, but is its harmless play. In Shakespeare, malicious sarcasm is an opposite to love, and forms part of the nature we imagine in a devil. Milton, in "Paradise Lost," does not omit it from the character of Satan.

Iago is at all points the opposite to a religious man who fulfils the law with a love that is without dissimulation and works no ill to his neighbour. Othello allows passion to subdue his reason when he suffers himself to be tossed to and fro, and practised upon by the sleight of men and

cunning craftiness. A little speaking by him of the truth in love would have enabled Desdemona and Emilia to show him other truth that would have brought Iago's practice to detection. Othello's persuasion could only rest upon a deep conviction of Iago's honesty. Iago must have been able to act his dishonest part in life, until his bold attempt against Othello, without any displacement of his mask. More than a dozen times in the play he is called "honest" Iago, for he acts the part of honesty; and the swift contrasts between deeds of cold-blooded cruelty and feigned solicitude as of an honest friend mark in the strongest way his power of dissimulation.

Doubt once admitted, Iago cunningly works the rack on which he has stretched his victim's mind, and leaves to him no interval for quiet thought. His plot is far-reaching. Cassio has the place of lieutenant to Othello, which Iago had sought for himself, and Iago is Othello's ancient. Cassio must be supplanted. Iago's nature, that has faith in no man, makes him in his cold way jealous of his wife, jealous of Othello, jealous of Cassio. He may avenge himself on both, kill Cassio, torture Othello, and obtain Cassio's post, as Othello's honest and most faithful friend. To achieve these ends, innocent Desdemona, having given with enthusiasm her whole love to the brave soldier whose tales of perils touched her girlish heart, must be the sacrifice. The foolish Roderigo, meanwhile, is Iago's purse, and is his tool in working out evil designs. A force of contrast quickens the enjoyment of that sudden outpouring of Emilia's loyalty and love, by which, in the end, hypocrisy is baffled, the full truth made known, and the feeling of the reader carried with her to the storm of all positions held by envy, hatred, and malice, in their siege against the charities of life.

CHAPTER III.

"MACBETH."

SHAKESPEARE'S "Macbeth" was first printed among his collected plays in the folio of 1623. It was registered at the Stationers' Company on the 8th of November, 1623, as one of the plays "not formerly entered to other men."

"Macbeth."

There was a "Ballad of Macdobeth" registered on the 27th of August, 1596; and the player Thomas Kemp, in his "Nine Days' Wonder," printed in 1600, speaks of "a penny poet whose first making was the miserable stolen story of Macdoel, or Macdobeth, or Mac-somewhat; for I am sure Mac it was, though I never had the maw to see it." There may have been, therefore, an older play of small account on the same theme. Shakespeare built his story upon the record in Holinshed; and Holinshed based his account upon the Scottish Chronicles.

There can be no doubt that "Macbeth" was written in the reign of James I.: that is to say, after March, 1603. The wearing of the crowns of England and Scotland by one sovereign dates from that month, when James VI. of Scotland became also James I. of England. Macbeth sees in the glass borne by the eighth king in his vision of the future line of Banquo (Act. iv., Scene 1) some

> "That twofold balls and treble sceptres carry."

This is an obvious reference to James twice crowned and ruler over the three kingdoms. But in what year of the

reign of James "Macbeth" was first produced, there is no evidence to show. It was certainly not later than the 20th of April, 1610, when Dr. Simon Forman saw the play acted at the Globe, and described it in his "Booke of Plaies, and Notes thereof for common Pollicie" (conduct in ordinary life), of which the MS. remains among the papers of Elias Ashmole. Simon Forman was a physician and astrologer, living in the parish of Lambeth. Forman's way of practice annoyed regular practitioners, and he had no licence but his own until he at last succeeded in obtaining a degree in medicine from Cambridge. He was implicated with Lady Essex in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. Before the trial, he died suddenly in a boat on the Thames, in 1611. This is Forman's way of recording what he had seen at the Globe:—

"In 'Macbeth,' at the Globe, 1610, the 20th of April, Saturday, there was to be observed, first, how Macbeth and Banquo, two noblemen of Scotland, riding through a wood, there stood before them three women fairies, or nymphs, and saluted Macbeth, saying three times unto him, 'Hail, Macbeth, King of Cawdor! for thou shalt be a king, but shalt beget no kings,' etc. Then said Banquo, 'What! all to Macbeth, and nothing to me?' 'Yes,' said the nymphs, 'Hail to thee, Banquo! thou shalt beget kings, yet be no king.' And so they departed, and came to the Court of Scotland, to Duncan, King of Scots, and it was in the days of Edward the Confessor. And Duncan bade them both kindly welcome, and made Macbeth forthwith Prince of Northumberland; and sent him home to his own castle, and appointed Macbeth to provide for him, for he would sup with him the next day at night, and did so.

"And Macbeth contrived to kill Duncan, and through the persuasion of his wife did that night murder the king in his own castle, being his guest. And there were many prodigies seen that night and the day before. And when Macbeth had murdered the king, the blood on his hands could not be washed off by any means, nor from his wife's hands, which handled the bloody daggers in hiding them; by which means they became both much amazed and affronted.

"The murder being known, Duncan's two sons fled, the one to England, the other to Wales, to save themselves; they, being fled,

were supposed guilty of the murder of their father, which was nothing so.

"Then was Macbeth crowned king, and then he, for fear of Banquo, his old companion, that he should beget kings but be no king himself, contrived the death of Banquo, and caused him to be murdered on the way that he rode. The night, being at supper with his noblemen, whom he had bid to a feast (to the which also Banquo should have come), he began to speak of noble Banquo, and to wish that he were there. And as he thus did, standing up to drink a carouse to him, the ghost of Banquo came, and sat down in his chair behind him. And he, turning about to sit down again, saw the ghost of Banquo, which fronted him, so that he fell in a great passion of fear and fury, uttering many words about his murder, by which, when they heard that Banquo was murdered, they suspected Macbeth.

"Then Macduff fled to England to the king's son, and so they raised an army and came to Scotland, and at Dunston Anyse [Dunsinane] overthrew Macbeth. In the meantime, while Macduff was in England, Macbeth slew Macduff's wife and children, and after, in the battle, Macduff slew Macbeth.

"Observe, also, how Macbeth's queen did rise in the night in her sleep, and walked, and talked, and confessed all, and the Doctor noted her words."

There is nothing to show that "Macbeth" was a new play when Forman saw it, and there is no evidence of its earlier production. There is no force at all in the suggestion that Shakespeare's reference to kings with twofold balls and treble sceptres could only have been made in the beginning of James's reign; and there is very little force in Malone's suggestion that the porter's reference to equivocation in Act II., Scene 3, justifies an inference that the play was written soon after the execution of Robert Garnet, Superior of the Order of Jesuits in England, who was tried on the 28th of March, 1606, for complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, and executed on the 3rd of May. At this trial a letter of the 5th of April, 1606, says that Garnet, convicted in one instance of solemn denial of a fact which he had afterwards to admit, "fell into a large discourse defending equivocation." Enough that the play of

"Macbeth" certainly was being acted in April, 1610, when Shakespeare's age was forty-six, and that Middleton had not then written his play of "The Witch," about which some students of "Macbeth" concern themselves unduly.

In the folio of 1623 the play is not very carefully printed, and in one or two passages the verse is damaged by an obviously wrong division of the lines.

Let us turn now to the art of the poet who has here put soul into the substance of an ancient tale.

The main feature in the original story is the perdition of a soul through the working of the powers of evil; and the play is so shaped that it may be said even to embody a text from St. Paul. It is of "the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish" (2 Thessalonians ii. 9, 10).

"*Macbeth.*"

The keynote is struck at the opening of the play with the appearance of the witches, who poetically represent the spirit of evil. Shakespeare, while using conceptions of witchcraft that were commonly accepted in his time, so little relied upon them that, to us who associate with them chiefly low ideas of an ignorant credulity, the touches of witch-talk taken from the popular belief never abate the grandeur of his poetical suggestion. His witches blend all the local colour of our home-bred superstition with imagery from the classical conception of the Fates as three weird sisters, and with the religious suggestion of a spiritual power seeking to betray the souls of men. They are sexless beings, that hover in the cloud and in the darkness, and when seen, vanish again by making themselves air.

When the play opens, Macbeth and Banquo are winning the crowning victory that saves King Duncan's throne, imperilled by the strong assaults of foreign invasion and domestic treason. Foremost in bodily valour, Macbeth especially is winning to himself the honours of the day. After the king's sons, hitherto not of age to be declared successors, he is Duncan's nearest kinsman. In the elation of his victory he may, if his regard to the right for its own sake be weak, lie open to one temptation. These were days of a rude civilisation, when a king's son did not succeed if not of age to rule,

but the successor was a brother or next kinsman able to direct in council or command in war. The same usage has been referred to in considering the plot of "Hamlet." The eldest son of Duncan was not the declared heir to the throne. Duncan away, Macbeth, fresh from a crowning victory, would wear the crown by right of usage, and by force of the triumphant army at his back. Opportunity less tempting has in old time led generals to seek a crown by murder of a king. The hour of Macbeth's temptation was born of his victory. The whole first act of Macbeth is planned to develop the temptation, and the powers of evil are first shown waiting to strike

> "When the hurley-burley's done,
> When the battle's lost and won."

They prepare to meet Macbeth upon the heath, and vanish into the thunder-cloud from which they came.

> "Fair is foul, and foul is fair,
> Hover through the fog and filthy air."

Not only more ancient beliefs, but our old Church traditions have associated darkness with the spirits of evil. Milton, who made grand use of the Church traditions of the Fall of Lucifer, embodied that other tradition in his image of the bridge that brought the fiends after the Fall to dwell in clouds and darkness round about us, ever at hand to tempt us to our ruin. "In Paradise Lost" the Council of Fallen Spirits was in Hell. In "Paradise Regained" Satan summons his Council in the clouds. The old nursery fears of darkness, even now instilled into some children, have their origin in old beliefs that peopled darkness with unhappy ghosts and spirits of evil. Not only in the thunder and lightning that are about the witches at the opening of the play, but in later scenes in other ways, Shakespeare has made his spirits of evil spirits of darkness.

Having opened the play thus with suggestions of its theme, in the working of Satan for temptation and destruction of a soul, Shakespeare tells the story of the battle in words of a bleeding captain who has hurried to King Duncan. His panting breath and ebbing strength are marked by the form of his sentences and changing structure of the verse. In the account given by the bleeding captain, and by Rosse and Angus, who close it with tidings of victory, Macbeth shines out as "brave Macbeth," as "valour's minion," "Bellona's bridegroom, lapped in proof." At the end of the play Shakespeare marks, as clearly as at the beginning, that Macbeth was physically brave. But

he marks throughout as distinctly that Macbeth was morally weak. His chief desire was to stand well with the world; and to the day of this temptation all had been well with him. He had lived an honourable life in the world's eyes, because favour in the world's eyes is on the whole to be secured by living honourably, and dishonourable deeds bring worldly discredit with them. Macbeth is, in fact, a grand poetic type of a very common form of moral weakness. He does not strongly seek to do right for the love of right: but he seeks weakly to do right for love of the worldly conveniences that right-doing brings. The trader, smiling at a tattered cloak; who goes to church regularly in his Sunday best, and thinks out, perhaps, in the quiet of his pew, a new way of outwitting his rivals; who is careful to subscribe to public charities; is prompt also in private charities that cannot fail to come to light, and as prompt in any private knavery for gain of wealth, if he can only feel sure that it will never be discovered, or that it is a form of dishonesty which the conventions of the world accept, and which will bring respect for shrewdness as a man of business: to him Macbeth ought to speak in parable. In his own miserable way, he is the man. It is to such as he that the temptation may come, with false assurance of security, that shall drag him down, as it dragged Macbeth, to utter ruin. None but the morally weak can be so caught. He who holds by the right for its own sake is morally strong, and lapped in proof against the tempter.

Recital of the battle and the victory, blended with reference to the treason of the Thane of Cawdor, ends with sentence of death on the disloyal thane and transfer of his honours to Macbeth. Then we return to the spirits of evil who await Macbeth upon the heath. Their malignity is clearly marked, and then says one:—

> "1 *Witch.* Look what I have.—
> 2 *Witch.* Show me, show me!
> 1 *Witch.* Here I have a pilot's thumb,
> Wrecked as homeward he did come. [*Drum within.*
> 3 *Witch.* A drum! A drum!
> Macbeth doth come."

Macbeth is the pilot who has saved the vessel of the State, and on his homeward way he is met by the temptation that shall wreck his life. Such poetical transitions, with subtle under-suggestion that goes to the quick of the play, are common in Shakespeare.

When Macbeth enters, it is with words that echo the last words of

the witches in the opening scene: "Fair is foul, and foul is fair"; "So foul and fair a day I have not seen." He speaks only of a fair day, with a black thunder-cloud (the storm and darkness in which the evil spirits hover) staining the expanse of blue. But his own fate lies in the image. It is the fairest day for him of victory and honour in the State; it is the foul day of the temptation that will catch his soul.

In the three greetings of the witches, Glamis is the ancestral estate, of which Macbeth had become thane by the death of Sinel, his father. The reader's interest is heightened by his previous knowledge of Macbeth's right to be called Thane of Cawdor, which fixes the whole attention upon the temptation by power and signs pointing upward—or rather, downward—to the winning of the crown. Dr. Johnson has a note on what he considers to be Shakespeare's oversight in the references to the Thane of Cawdor. "It appears," he says, "that Cawdor was taken prisoner, for in the same scene the king commands his present death. Yet though Cawdor was thus taken by Macbeth, in arms against his king, when Macbeth is saluted Thane of Cawdor by the witches, he asks, 'How of Cawdor? The Thane of Cawdor lives, a prosperous gentleman,' and in the next line considers the promises that he should be Cawdor and king as equally unlikely to be accomplished. How can Macbeth be ignorant of the state of the thane whom he has just defeated and taken prisoner, or call him a prosperous gentleman who has forfeited his title and life by open rebellion?" Editors repeat this note without pointing out that the inattention lies wholly with Johnson. It not only does not appear that Cawdor was taken prisoner in the battle, but Shakespeare is careful to show that he was not in the battle. His condemnation follows upon political suspicions and inquiries, that resulted in conviction of his secret treason, all this being affair of the court while Macbeth was in the camp. Angus refers to process closed before the battle when he says that he does not know whether Cawdor openly allied himself to the enemy, or only gave secret assistance, but he does know that "treasons capital, confessed and proved, have overthrown him." This confession and proof came clearly by the action of the king and his advisers, of which nothing has been heard by Macbeth, who was marching against the main army of invasion.

At the "All hail, Macbeth! that shalt be king hereafter," Shakespeare marks the instant effect of the entrance of the poison by the immediate question of Macbeth's fellow-general, Banquo, "Good sir, why do you start, and seem to fear things that do sound so fair?" Again, as Banquo, with his frank, strong nature, turns on his own part

to the Witches, he marks for us the strong working of the poison in Macbeth by reference to the

" royal hope
That he seems rapt withal."

The weak mind, like the weak body, is prompt to take a poisonous infection. Take away the Witches, the visible poetical suggestion of "the working of Satan;" there remains a victorious general, who has saved the state, who has the army at his back, and is of royal blood, and there remains the moment of the entrance into his mind of the temptation. By one act may he not break through the one bar between himself and the possession of the crown? This one crime becomes distinctly present to Macbeth's mind. When he asks his fellow-general—

" Do you not hope your children shall be kings,
When those that gave the Thane of Cawdor to me
Promised no less to them?"

Banquo's firmer nature answers with clear insight, and with a religious comment that is of the essence of the tale as Shakespeare tells it,

" That, trusted home,
Might yet enkindle you unto the crown
Besides the Thane of Cawdor. But 'tis strange:
And oftentimes to win us to our harms
The instruments of darkness tell us truths;
Win us with honest trifles, to betray us
In deepest consequence."

Such is "the working of Satan with all powers and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish." When we enter Macbeth's mind, we find in it the image of the murder to which he is tempted—

" that suggestion
Whose horrid image doth unfix my hair,
And make my seated heart knock at my ribs
Against the use of nature."

Although the murder in his thought is yet only fantastical, we know it to be there when, in the next scene, he comes into Duncan's presence fresh from victory. Here, again, there is one of Shakespeare's poetical transitions, with subtle under-suggestion that goes to the quick of the play. Duncan, speaking of Cawdor, says—

" There's no art
To find the mind's construction in the face :
He was a gentleman on whom I built
An absolute trust——"

Upon this enters Macbeth, with Duncan's murder in his mind,—another gentleman on whom he builds an absolute trust ; and Duncan hurries to embrace him, with a swift transition from comment upon the mask of treason to—

" Oh, worthiest cousin !
The sin of my ingratitude even now
Was heavy on me."

Macbeth wears his mask. Though Duncan's naming of his eldest son as his successor is a bar to Macbeth's first conception of his crime, it cannot check him :

" The prince of Cumberland ! That is a step
On which I must fall down, or else o'erleap,
For in my way it lies.—Stars, hide your fires !
Let not light see my deep and black desires ;
The eye wink at the hand ; yet let that be,
Which the eye fears, when it is done, to see."

After this glance into the mind of Macbeth, Shakespeare shows the loving trust in which King Duncan goes to be his peerless kinsman's guest.

In the home towards which Macbeth and Duncan are now hastening, Lady Macbeth reads from one of her husband's letters his dwelling upon the promise of the weird sisters : " Hail, King that shalt be ! " She is not reading all that he has written ; there is after reference to his letters, and to his having in them first broken to his wife the enterprise for the attainment of the crown by Duncan's murder. There is old love between Macbeth and his wife. She respects his courage as a soldier, but she knows the moral weakness that is in his wish to stand fair with the world. If he had flinched from evil because it was evil, and stood firm for the right as right, she would have honoured him for that courage also, and helped to sustain it. But he desired by murder to obtain a crown, and might be withheld by a cowardice that she disdained to share. By her help he should attain his wish.

"Yet do I fear thy nature;
It is too full o' the milk of human kindness
To catch the nearest way. Thou wouldst be great;
Art not without ambition; but without
The illness should attend it: what thou wouldst highly,
That wouldst thou holily; wouldst not play false,
And yet wouldst wrongly win: Thou'dst have, great Glamis,
That which cries, 'Thus thou must do——'"

Murder thou must do—

"if thou have it;
And that *which rather thou dost fear to do*
Than wishest should be undone."

Upon the resolve that she will help him to attain his wish follows immediately the report of a servant that the victim will lie, even that night, ready to their hands. Then follows a passage in which Lady Macbeth summons to her aid those powers of evil which had come unsummoned to Macbeth:

"Come, you spirits
That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here,
And fill me from the crown to the toe, topfull
Of direst cruelty! make thick my blood;
Stop up the access and passage to remorse,
. . . . . Come to my woman's breasts,
And take my milk for gall, you murdering ministers,
Wherever in your sightless substances
You wait on nature's mischief!"

The answer Shakespeare had in mind was, I believe, a gathering of darkness about Lady Macbeth as she spoke, which influenced her thought as she continued,

"Come, thick night,
And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell,
That my keen knife see not the wound it makes,
Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark
To cry 'Hold, hold!'"—

—that cry from heaven being not, as many actresses interpret it, a wild shriek, but the still soft voice of infinite compassion.

When Macbeth enters, the first words of love between husband and wife are blended with suggestion of the murder that is in their thoughts: irresolute suggestion in Macbeth; determined, in Lady Macbeth. A

wife true to a man's best aims may strengthen him in hours of weakness, and sustain his honour to the end; but if she be true to his aims, evil or good, a time may come, as it came to Macbeth, when he is on the brink of a precipice desiring to go forward, and the loving hand that could have drawn him back to safety helps him to his death. When Duncan is before the castle, and commends its pleasant seat, a picture of the home before the ruin of its happiness precedes the fatal entrance of Duncan under Macbeth's battlements. While Duncan is feasted, Macbeth wanders away irresolute, and his thoughts as they are shown to us—an aside in Shakespeare means for us, it should be always remembered, "Now you hear thinking;" it is never to be taken as an idiotic gibbering and muttering aloud—when we enter Macbeth's mind and know his thoughts while Duncan feasts, we find the clearest definition of the moral cowardice by which he is withheld. His course of reasoning is, that if there were an end of the matter when Duncan was killed, no unpleasant consequences to follow in this world, the sooner done the better. He would not trouble about consequences in the life to come. But murder comes back here with its revenge on the wrong-doer. That Duncan should be slain by his kinsman, by his host, is double breach of trust; and he has been so gentle and so good a king that there will be a great and dangerous outcry upon his murder. On the other side, there is no spur but his ambition; and upon this "I have no spur" follows close, with poetical aptitude, the entrance of Lady Macbeth. Her spur is that of courage against cowardice. Macbeth does not hesitate because it is wrong to kill a good old man, but because the goodness of the man makes the chance of escape less for his murderer; because—

> "his virtues
> Will plead like angels, trumpet-tongued, against
> The deep damnation of his taking off."

Lady Macbeth appeals straight to what she knows to be his nature:

> "Art thou afeard
> To be the same in thine own act and valour
> As thou art in desire?"

And in the following lines she reminds him that it was he who broke the enterprise to her, before his coming:

> "Nor time, nor place
> Did then adhere, and yet you would make both;
> They have made themselves, and that their fitness now
> Does unmake you."

The next lines, "I have given suck," etc., should not, as they do often on the stage, rise to a passionate scream that would bring Duncan and all the guests out of the next room to know what is the matter with their hostess; but in the whispers between the guilty pair, these words express with quiet intensity the most absolute spirit of that resolve to hold to a purpose which she wished to put into her husband. To Macbeth's irresolute "If we should fail?" Lady Macbeth answers firmly, and displays the prospect of escape from detection which had been the one thing wanting to convince him that he may kill the good old man, his kinsman and his guest. The First Act of Macbeth, having for its whole theme the Temptation, ends with the triumph of the tempter, due entirely to the nature of the mind that flinches from evil, not because it is bad in itself, but because it has bad consequences. The last touch, closing the act with triumph of the tempter, shows that Macbeth is satisfied when he is led to believe that he will be quite safe if he kills three men instead of one:

> "Will it not be received,
> When we have marked with blood those sleepy two
> Of his own chamber, and used their very daggers,
> That they have done 't?
> *Lady M.* Who dares receive it other
> As we shall make our griefs and clamour roar
> Upon his death?
> *Macbeth.* I am settled; and bend up
> Each corporal agent to this terrible feat.
> Away, and mock the time with fairest show;
> False face must hide what the false heart doth know."

The theme of the Second Act is the Murder of Duncan. The powers of evil are in the clouds that settle over Macbeth's castle. The scene opens after midnight, and the sky is starless—

> "there's husbandry in heaven;
> Their candles are all out,"

says Banquo; and at the close of the Act,

> "by the clock 'tis day,
> And yet dark night strangles the travailing lamp."

Hell is within the castle; and when the porter, half drowned in the fumes of the feast that welcomed Duncan, crosses the courtyard to answer to the knocking from the outer world that follows close upon

the secret murder, Shakespeare sustains the motive of his Second Act, by making him imagine himself porter of hell, summoned to open its gates to men of all professions "that go the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire."

The Act opens with Banquo an honest man, as loyal to his brother-general as to his king. At Forres (Act i., sc. 4, at the close), while Macbeth had murder in his thought, Banquo was pouring praises of the valour of Macbeth into the king's ear. But Banquo has misgivings that do not lie consciously within him as suspicions of his friend. He knows of the temptation that, trusted home, might yet enkindle him to seize the crown. Banquo, with vague misgiving that he would not, or could not, define to his own loyal mind, is about with his son. He would watch; and yet, why should he? "Take my sword," he says to his son Fleance—

——"Take thee that too.
A heavy summons lies like lead upon me,
And yet I would not sleep."

Upon his words of prayer, as he is about to rest, follows sound of a footstep; at once he is up with the cry

——"Give me my sword!
Who's there?"

It is Macbeth. Banquo reports to him the kind acts of Duncan, presents the diamond with which the king greets Lady Macbeth as "most kind hostess," and then, in pursuance of the doubt not half acknowledged even to himself, he brings his friend straight to the ground of his misgivings—

"I dreamed last night of the three weird sisters:
To you they have showed some truth.
Macbeth. I think not of them."

Yet his next words, proposing conference with Banquo, contradict this assumption of indifference, and Banquo's answer includes, perhaps, a glance of half-intended warning—

Macbeth. "If you shall cleave to my consent, when 'tis,
It shall make honour for you.
Banquo. So I lose none
In seeking to augment it, but still keep
My bosom franchised and allegiance clear,
I shall be counselled."

What is shown here, at the opening of the Second Act, as a misgiving with little in it of belief, is shown at the opening of the Third Act as grown into a misgiving with little in it of doubt.

Banquo and Fleance having left him, Macbeth, who is abroad for secret murder, has next to send away his torchbearer. Lady Macbeth has agreed to signal to her husband by stroke on a bell that her drug has worked, and that the daggers of the two grooms are laid ready for him. The time is near, the bell heard by the servant would be noted. Macbeth, therefore, to avert suspicious afterthought, invents a reason for it—

> "Go; bid thy mistress when my drink is ready
> She strike upon the bell. Get thee to bed."

Then the overwrought imagination of the deed to be done produces vision of the air-drawn dagger, and the spirits of evil in the darkness may be supposed also to be playing with their victim. When Lady Macbeth enters, her first words indicate that she had needed the false strength of wine to force her womanhood to its hard task. "That which hath made them drunk hath made me bold," she says. A touch follows of womanly feeling, showing tender instincts blended with the cruel preparation—

> "I laid their daggers ready,
> He could not miss them.—Had he not resembled
> My father as he slept, I had done 't."

In the whispering between the guilty pair after the murder, Lady Macbeth suppresses her own feelings that she may sustain her husband's feebler mind. She has the Spartan nature that can hide the pain within, yet shows that she has part in the torture of thought:

> "These deeds must not be thought
> After these ways: so, it will make us mad.
> *Macbeth.* Methought I heard a voice cry, 'Sleep no more!'"

And a curse fell upon the sleep of both. Upon Macbeth's eager restlessness comes in a later scene the sad comment of his wife, "You lack the season of all natures—sleep." How in her own sleep the torture of her waking hours destroyed all rest is shown at the close, when the strong nature that, if awake, was self-contained, in sleep, free from the control of will, utters the misery within. Then, also, we find the revenge of conscience on her answer to Macbeth's—

"Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand?" . . .
"A little water clears us of this deed."

From Macbeth the sense of his lost peace wrings at once the wish that he could recall the irrevocable hour—

"Wake Duncan with thy knocking: I would thou couldst."

Of the relation of the porter's speech to the whole spirit of this Act I have already spoken. Macbeth's answer to Lenox's "Goes the King hence to-day?" "He does," with the suggestive correction to . . . "He did appoint so," still indicates the guilty consciousness not easy to conceal. And when Macbeth re-enters from the murder of the grooms, his wild excitement finds expression in a form that speaks to the outer world only as loyalty, but is for himself the cry of his own painful thought—

"Had I but died an hour before this chance,
I had lived a blessèd time!"

Lady Macbeth acts her amazement and her grief, until Macbeth, hurrying on with his justification of the killing of the grooms whom he held guilty of the murder of the king, raises again in his wife's mind the image of her father as he slept—

"Here lay Duncan,
His silver skin laced with his golden blood;"

and at this point, every good actress rightly marks the transition in Lady Macbeth from a feigned concern to a real fainting. No word escapes from her, but woman's nature can endure no more.

After she has been carried out, it is Banquo whose attitude makes him, of all men, most dangerous to the murderers. "Fears and scruples," he says, "shake us:"

"In the great hand of God I stand; and thence
Against the undivulged pretence I fight
Of treasonous malice."

Since the fears of Duncan's sons cause them to fly from Scotland, the guilt of having suborned the murderers is easily fastened by Macbeth on them. The Second Act, having for its theme the Murder of King Duncan, ends with renewed association of supernatural darkness

with evil portents, in a short dialogue that, while carrying the narrative on to the election of Macbeth as king, indicates the readiness of a suspicion that the murderer was he who seemed to gain most by the crime.

The Third Act shows crime begetting crime. Its main theme is the Murder of Banquo. Like the Second Act, it opens with Banquo, now not unconsciously distrustful.

> "Thou hast it now, King, Cawdor, Glamis, all,
> As the weird women promised; and, I fear,
> Thou playd'st most foully for it."

Macbeth, crowned, and his queen, hail Banquo as chief guest at their feast. While he lives they must pay all observance to him, for to them he is of all men most dangerous. But murder lurks in Macbeth's words of friendship. The men chosen to be Banquo's assassins, by whom he and Fleance are to be waylaid, wait without; and little questions, that seem aimless but are of deadly significance, are shot at intervals out of the dialogue:—"Ride you this afternoon?" "Is't far you ride?" "Goes Fleance with you?" Banquo being gone, Macbeth finds an excuse for solitude; and, being left alone, summons the murderers. His thoughts, as he does so, dwell on the dread of retribution.

> "To be thus is nothing,
> But to be safely thus.—Our fears in Banquo
> Stick deep, and in his royalty of nature
> Reigns that which would be feared."

The evil spells of the weird sisters have also poisoned his mind with the thought—

> "They hailed him father to a line of kings.
> Upon my head they placed a fruitless crown.
> . . . . If it be so,
> For Banquo's issue have I filed my mind,
> For them the gracious Duncan have I murdered."

Banquo must die, and Fleance. The murderers' hearts are steeled against pity by Macbeth's words to them, and they go to their work. Lady Macbeth, who knows nothing of this design, but always fears the self-betrayal of Macbeth, who feels the need they have of mutual support, and would hearten her husband, if she could, to clear his brow and seem at ease during the banquet, sends for him. Her own attitude

is one of uttermost dejection. The crime that should "to all their days and nights to come, give solely sovereign sway and masterdom," has robbed them of all that gives content in life. "Nought's had," she sighs,

> "Nought's had, all's spent,
> Where our desire is got without content:
> 'Tis safer to be that which we destroy,
> Than by destruction dwell in doubtful joy."

And with the same sorrow at heart, when Macbeth enters she greets him in tones of mournful sympathy:

> "How now, my lord? Why do you keep alone,
> Of sorriest fancies your companions making,
> Using those thoughts which should indeed have died
> With them they think on? Things without remedy
> Should be without regard: What's done is done."

Macbeth replies with a wild restlessness, impatient of the days and nights of sleepless misery. The curse is on his sleep as on his waking. It is to

> "sleep
> In the affliction of those terrible dreams
> That shake us nightly."

Better have died with Duncan than so suffer;

> "After life's fitful fever, *he* sleeps well."

To Macbeth's feverish excitement the sad wife only replies by drawing him from his solitude to her companionship, and seeking still to soothe him into show of better cheer. He, with his eager mind fixed on the death of Banquo, craves to tell her of the murder he has planned, and yet flinches from doing so. To her

> "Gentle my lord, sleek o'er your rugged looks,
> Be bright and jovial among our guests to-night,"

He answers—

> "So shall I, love; and so, I pray, be you.
> Let your remembrance apply to Banquo;
> Present him eminence, both with eye and tongue;"

then passes on to expression of the wretchedness that lies in flattery of men we fear. Again she answers, in weariness of despair: "You must leave this;" and then comes from his tortured soul the cry—

"O full of scorpions is my mind, dear wife.
Thou know'st that Banquo and his Fleance live.
Lady M. But in them nature's copy's not eterne."

Is this a note of accord with his design? It may be but a weary commonplace of consolation, or it may be——? Macbeth is half encouraged to go on—

"There's comfort yet, they are assailable.
Then be thou jocund. Ere the bat hath flown
His cloistered flight . . .
. . . there shall be done
A deed of dreadful note."

But the face and voice of his wife encourage him no more. She sees before her the man she would have aided to achievement of his wish, mad with hell torment, a ruin she has made. As if exhaled from a far world of thought comes to him the listless question: "What's to be done?" He dares not utter his mind to his wife now—breaks off with—

"Be innocent of the knowledge, dearest chuck,
Till thou applaud the deed" . . .

and pours out anticipation of the night, when

"Good things of day begin to droop and drowse,
Whiles night's black agents to their preys do rouse.
Thou marvell'st at my words; but hold thee still:
Things bad begun make strong themselves by ill.
So pr'ythee go with me."

And so they go together to the coronation feast.

To the next scene—that of the murder of Banquo—dramatic force is given by the appearance of a third murderer, whose words show that he is acquainted with the persons and the ways about the palace. He is sent, in Macbeth's restless eagerness, to make assurance sure; to prevent failure through the ignorance of men whom Macbeth had chosen as assassins from among the refuse of his army.

In the banquet scene Macbeth does not take his state, but, leaving his wife to preside,

"will mingle with society,
And play the humble host."

He does this that he may be free to leave his seat among the many, move from guest to guest, and in so doing hover near the door till one shall come to tell him how the murderers have sped.

Thus he soon learns, in secret whispers by the door, of the escape of Fleance and the death of Banquo, who bides safe in a ditch

> "With twenty trenchéd gashes on his head,
> The least a death to nature."

Drawn from the feast by this exchange of words, and with his mind absorbed by what he has just heard, he is recalled to his duties as the host by Lady Macbeth, watchful throughout. But when he would sit, with false expression of desire for Banquo's presence, "the table's full." His own seat is pointed out to him, vacant to every eye but his, and then the Ghost of Banquo faces him. In Macbeth's

> "Thou canst not say I did it: never shake
> Thy gory locks at me,"

Lady Macbeth, who knows nothing yet of Banquo's murder, sees only the torment of the murderer of Duncan. She commands herself, retains the guests, excuses Macbeth's passion as a fit to which he has been liable from youth; then with quick warning whispers seeks to chide him into self-restraint. When the ghost reappears, after a brief recovery of Macbeth's presence of mind, Lady Macbeth's fear is that he will go on to betray himself before all as the murderer of Duncan, and she hurriedly breaks up the feast—

> "Stand not upon the order of your going,
> But go at once.
> *Lenox.* Good night; and better health
> Attend his Majesty.
> *Lady M.* A kind good night to all."

Left to themselves again, Lady Macbeth sinks into the old weariness of blank despair, while Macbeth continues to pour out his mind in wild excitement. And this excitement passes on, as the whole play now does, to preparation for the next great passage in the story, which will be the main theme of the Fourth Act: the murder of Macduff's wife and her children.

> "How say'st thou, that Macduff denies his person
> At our great bidding?"

Lady Macbeth answers still wearily, with voice as from afar, where her thoughts are upon the wreck she sees before her of the man she loved and loves :—

" Did you send to him, sir?

Macbeth. I hear it by the way; but I will send.
There's not a one of them, but in his house
I keep a servant fee'd. I will to-morrow,
And betimes I will, to the weird sisters.
More shall they speak; for now I am bent to know
By the worst means the worst." . . .

As he runs on, with talk of blood, the wife's mournful comment only is—

" You lack the season of all natures—sleep."

The turning of Macbeth's mind in anger of suspicion towards Macduff having been thus prepared for, two short scenes close the Act with further touches of artistic preparation for the end. The witches' scene with Hecate, and the witches' scene at the opening of the Fourth Act, recall firmly the motive of the poem in " the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish." They do more. They prepare for the Fourth Act by distinct foreshowing of the poet's purpose in it. The tale is of the ruin of a tempted soul. Shakespeare has shown clearly what kind of soul it is that lies most open to the tempter; he has represented the swift passage from crime to crime; and now Hecate, the mistress of their charms, the close contriver of all harms, looks angrily on the weird sisters, whose temptation has not yet dragged down Macbeth to be companion of fiends. Thus far, all they have done

" Hath been but for a wayward son,
Spiteful and wrathful; who, as others do,
Loves for his own ends, not for you."

Thus far, all crime has been to win and to secure some earthly gain; has had a motive with a touch in it of human reason. Macbeth has been made but a wayward son of the powers of darkness, loving evil for his own ends, not for itself; not for *you*, who are evil itself—

" You murdering ministers,
Wherever in your sightless substances
You wait on nature's mischief."

For the complete perdition of the tempted soul, it must be dragged down to the lowest deep, till it do evil without hope of other gain than satisfaction of a fiendish malice. This, yet to be attained, is the triumphant close of the working of Satan. Its attainment, "with all power and signs and lying wonders," the Fourth Act is to show, where Macbeth gains no end but the satisfaction of a fiendish malice and cruelty by the Murder of Lady Macduff and her Children. This foreshadowing of the motive of the Fourth Act includes also preparations for the Fifth Act, which has for its theme the Retribution. Thus the five Acts are arranged with a clear poetical design in their succession:—(1) the Temptation; (2) the Murder of Duncan; (3) downward, as consequence of that, to the Murder of Banquo; (4) complete ruin, in passage to the Murder of Lady Macduff and her Children; and then (5) in the last Act, the reaping of the whirlwind.

The closing Scene in the Third Act between Lenox and another lord, while showing how Macbeth stands in his kingdom, is chiefly designed to prepare for what follows by telling of Macduff's escape to England to pray for aid against the tyrant;

> "And this report
> Hath so exasperate the king, that he
> Prepares for some attempt at war."

In the witches' scene at the opening of the Fourth Act, the signs shown to Macbeth are all, as Hecate desired, such

> "As by the strength of their illusion
> Shall draw him on to his confusion.
> He shall spurn fate, scorn death, and bear
> His hopes 'bove wisdom, grace, and fear;
> And, you all know, security
> Is mortal's chiefest enemy."

At the outset it had been suggestion of security that resolved Macbeth's doubt when he first shrank from the murder of Duncan. It has been rightly observed by John Upton that the apparitions shown to Macbeth by the witches mock the false hopes they awaken by being really signs of his own fall. The "armed head" that bids him "beware Macduff," figures his own that Macduff shall strike off. The bloody child that tells him to

> "Be bloody, bold, and resolute; laugh to scorn
> The power of man, for none of woman born
> Shall harm Macbeth,"

figures Macduff who shall slay him, Macduff as one

> "from his mother's womb
> Untimely ripped."

The child with a crown on his head and a bough in his hand, who promises that

> "Macbeth shall never vanquished be, until
> Great Birnam wood to high Dunsinane hill
> Shall come against him,"

"is," says Upton, "the royal Malcolm, who ordered his soldiers to hew them down a bough and bear it before them to Dunsinane."

When the powers of evil have made sure of Macbeth as their victim, they "show his eyes and grieve his heart" with a vision of kings of the race of Banquo, dance round him in mockery, and vanish. Macbeth cries in his wrath,

> "Infected be the air whereon they ride,
> And damned all those that trust them."

But in the same instant he receives assurance that Macduff is fled to England, and the signs and lying wonders have secured their end. "From this moment," Macbeth says,

> "The very firstlings of my heart shall be
> The firstlings of my hand. And even now,
> To crown my thoughts with acts, be it thought and done:
> The castle of Macduff I will surprise;
> Seize upon Fife; give to the edge o' the sword
> His wife, his babes, and all unfortunate souls
> That trace him in his line."

Then follow, set in scenes of human tenderness, the murder of the wife and children, and the bringing to Macduff at the English court the tidings that may break his heart, but nerve his arm against the murderer:

> . . . . "front to front
> Bring thou this fiend of Scotland and myself;
> Within my sword's length set him. If he 'scape,
> Heaven forgive him too."

So the Fourth Act closes, and the Retribution follows in the Fifth. It is shown first in Lady Macbeth's murdered sleep, where the voice

over which the will has lost control utters in sleep-walking the thoughts within. "Out, damned spot!" recalls the false encouragement on the night of Duncan's murder: "A little water clears us of this deed." Now this wrings back from her in accents of despair, "Will these hands ne'er be clean? . . All the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand!" and we hear the long low groan of the soul in agony. In her sleep she is again in the darkness that pressed round her on the night of the murder of Duncan. Her exclamation, "Hell is murky!" recalls an unuttered thought of that night when spirits that dwell in darkness gathered over Macbeth's castle, and the place was hell. The fate of Lady Macduff, the murder of Banquo, press her down. She is not guilty of them by direct consent, but, as guilty of one, guilty of all. It was her hand that sealed her husband's doom. It was she who urged over the edge of the precipice the man she loved; hers, therefore, the cruelty of every successive dash against the rocks, as he falls headlong down to the abyss. She has held to him and shared his misery; she shares also the execration of his people; but we do not know her to have been the prompter of a second crime.

In Macbeth the feverish excitement borders upon madness, as his people fall from him and he fights desperately against allied foes and subjects who besiege him in his castle of Dunsinane.

> "Some say he's mad; others, that lesser hate him,
> Do call it valiant fury; but for certain,
> He cannot buckle his distempered course
> Within the belt of rule."

His physical courage, conspicuous at the beginning of the play, is again marked firmly at the end. His excited imagination tortures him with clear sight of what he has forfeited, in words that also indicate sufficiently the lapse of years during the course of the action. Macbeth's reign is said to have extended over seventeen years, from A.D. 1040 to A.D. 1057, and Shakespeare, who by unity of design has shaped all into a single thought, does not omit to give one glance at the course of time. It is in Macbeth's sigh for the lost peace:

> "My way of life
> Is fallen into the sere, the yellow leaf,
> And that which should accompany old age,
> As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,
> I must not look to have."

The contrast of the lost peace with the rooted sorrow that no medicine can cure, is followed by wild restlessness as he is being armed for the last struggle. The words are mixed with impatient exclamations on the slow course of the arming, and at last he breaks impatiently away while there is yet armour to put on, exclaiming, "Bring it after me!"

Upon the cry of women—the cry that tells of the queen's death—follows report of a moving wood. Then despair blends with the fury, and begins to take the place of the false confidence that "signs and lying wonders" had sustained—

> "I pull in resolution; and begin
> To doubt th' equivocation of the fiend
> That lies like truth."

And then it is, "Arm, arm, and out!" At bay, baited, and driven by despair, Macbeth leaves shelter of the castle to make one wild rush on those who hunt him down. In the open field Macduff keeps his sword unstained. He will shed no blood but Macbeth's. And when at last Macbeth is found, and Macduff's answer to his boast that he bears a charmed life is,

> "Despair thy charm;
> And let the angel whom thou still hast served
> Tell thee, Macduff was from his mother's womb
> Untimely ripped,"

Shakespeare puts into Macbeth's answer a last despairing cry, wrung from him by "the deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish:"

> "Accurséd be the tongue that tells me so,
> For it hath cowed my better part of man:
> And be these juggling fiends no more believed
> That palter with us in a double sense;
> That keep the word of promise to our ear,
> And break it to our hope."

The play closes with suggestive contrast of two soldiers' deaths. Macbeth dies accursed; but before Macduff enters with the head of the man on whom he has avenged the murders of his wife and children, Shakespeare represents Old Siward hearing that his son has died a soldier's death:

"He only lived but till he was a man,
The which no sooner had his prowess confirmed
In the unshrinking station where he fought,
But like a man he died. . . .
Siward. Had he his hurts before?
Rosse. Ay, on the front.
Siward. Why then God's soldier be he."

To die well in the wars of life, and live on as God's soldier, is not the grief of death. Its grief is when the stroke falls on "the cursed head," when the enemy has trodden down the life upon the earth, and laid its honour in the dust.

CHAPTER IV.

"KING LEAR."

KING LEAR made his first substantial appearance in our literature in Geoffrey of Monmouth's "History of British Kings," produced about the year 1147.* From that chronicle the earliest English tragedy, "Gorboduc," derived its plot, and it was our first source of the story of "King Lear." † "King Lear."

In Geoffrey of Monmouth's Chronicle, King Leir was the son of Bladud, who built the town now known as Bath, and made hot baths there about the time when the prophet Elias prayed that it might not rain upon earth, and it did not rain for three years and six months. Bladud was a very ingenious man, and practised magic till he tried to fly with wings, and went high into the air, but fell, and was dashed to pieces by falling on the Temple of Apollo, in the city of Trinovantum —that is to say, in London, where St. Paul's Cathedral now stands, on the top of Ludgate Hill. Then Leir became king, and nobly governed his country for sixty years. He built Kaerleir, in Saxon Leircestre (Leicester). He had three daughters—Gonorilla, Regan, and Cordella.

Then follows the tale of yielding to false flattery, and wrath against the simple words of truth. But Leir divides only half his realm between his two false daughters and their husbands, the Dukes of Cornwall and Albany (or North Britain); the other half he keeps, and will leave to be divided by them after his death. Afterwards Cordella was given dowerless to Aganippus, king of the Franks, who ruled over a third part of Gaul. Leir then remained for a long time king of that half of Britain which he had reserved for himself; but when he became infirm with old age the Dukes of Albany and Cornwall rose in insurrection against him, and deprived him of his kingdom and of all regal authority. At length, by

* "E. W." iii. 46–54. † "E. W." viii. 228–236.

mutual agreement, Maglaunus, Duke of Albany, one of his sons-in-law, was to allow him maintenance at his own house, with sixty soldiers of his own, who were to be kept for state. So Leir lived for two years, but then his daughter Gonorilla, whom Albany had married, grudged the number of her father's men, who complained of their scanty allowance. She caused the number to be reduced to thirty. Resenting this, Leir left Maglaunus and went to Henuinus, Duke of Cornwall, to whom he had married his daughter Regan. Here he was honourably received, but before the end of another year a quarrel arose between Leir's followers and those of the house, which raised Regan's anger so that she commanded her father to dismiss all his men but five, and be content with five. Leir went back in misery to Gonorilla, who now required that he should dismiss all his followers but one, and be content with one. He was obliged to assent, and with a single follower remained with Gonorilla, lamenting his injustice to Cordella. At last he resolved to go across the sea to her, and waited before the city of Caritia (Calais) while he sent a messenger to tell her of the misery and want into which he had fallen. Cordella then at once sent him money, clothes, food, ordered him a retinue of forty men, and when he was royally arrayed she and her husband Aganippus received Leir honourably. They raised an army and went with him to Britain, where they restored the whole kingdom to his power. Leir reigned then until his death, three years afterwards. Aganippus also died, and Cordella succeeded to her father's rule. She governed peacefully for five years, after which she was warred against by two sons of her sisters—Morgan, son of Gonorilla and Maglaunus, with Cunedagius, son of Regan and Henuinus. They had succeeded to their fathers' dukedoms, and were not content that Britain should be subject to a woman. They overcame Cordella and shut her in prison, where she killed herself.

That is the germ of the tale, which reappeared in the French and English poetical versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth by Wace and Layamon. Spenser recalled it in the tenth canto of the Second Book of the "Faerie Queene," smoothing Cordella's name into Cordelia, and Shakespeare took, no doubt, from Spenser that form of the name. The old form appeared, as Cordella, in "The True Chronicle Historie of King Leir and his Three Daughters," from which we may suppose that Shakespeare took the immediate suggestion of his subject.

That old play had been entered at Stationers' Hall for publication on the fourteenth of May, 1594. The first edition is lost, but there was a new impression in 1605, as "The True Chronicle History of King Leir and his Three Daughters, Gonorill, Ragan, and Cordella. As it hath been divers and sundry times lately acted."

Of the date of Shakespeare's "Lear," it can be said with certainty that it must have been after the publication of Bishop Harstnet's "Discovery of Popish Impostors," which appeared in 1603, and from which Shakespeare borrowed names of fiends—Flibberdigibet, Smolkin, Modu, Maho—which are used by Edgar in the fourth scene of the Third Act. John Payne Collier suggested that the republication of the old play in 1605 might have been for the sake of catching customers through the success of Shakespeare's play, then new. Shakespeare's play was entered at Stationers' Hall on the twenty-sixth of November, 1607, to Nathaniel Butter and John Busby, as "a booke called Mr. Willm. Shakespeare, his Historye of King Lear, as yt was played before the King's Majestie at Whitehall, upon St. Stephen's night at Christmas last" (that would be the twenty-sixth of December, 1606) "by his Majestie's Servants playing usually at the Globe on the Bankside." If the play so acted was a success of the year then closing, the date of production would, therefore, have been 1606. At any rate, the range of speculation is bounded by the years 1603 and 1607.

Nathaniel Butter having in some way obtained a copy of Shakespeare's "Lear," published it within the same year, 1607, in three separate quartos, and the play was not printed again until it was included in the first folio of 1623. The folio omits some passages of dialogue that in all modern editions have been rightly supplied out of the quartos. The folio contains frequent corrections of errors in the quartos, which print the text often

confusedly, verse as prose, with carelessly written or misprinted text that is apt to mar the measure or confound the sense. Successive editors have done good work in ascertaining the true text, which is still in a few passages obscured beyond recovery. The grandeur of the play is heightened by the occasional passing of its rapid action into dialogue of prose, that quickens instead of deadening the fervour of poetical expression, and that is half, or more than half, metrical in structure. This makes a difficulty sometimes in determining where metre is broken by misreading or misprint of Shakespeare's text, and where it is broken by design.

Of the grandeur of Shakespeare's "Lear," and the swift rush of its great storm of emotion, there is no trace in the older play. A sketch of it will help further to show what was the magic of the touch of Shakespeare on material he thought worth using.

"*The True Chronicle History of King Leir and his Three Daughters, Gonorill, Ragan, and Cordella.*"

Supplying the division into Acts, which was not regarded by the printer of the old edition, we have the first Act of the earlier play opening with a speech of nine-and-twenty lines from Leir to his nobles, importing that he has just performed the obsequies of his queen; and as he has only daughters who have lost their mother's care, while "fathers best do know to govern sons," as he is also weary of the world, and desires leisure to think upon the welfare of his soul, he means to resign his crown in equal dowry to his three daughters. Skalliger, a compliant noble, tells him in seven lines that he is right, and that as he knows what suitors his daughters have, he should give to each of them

"A jointure more or less,
As is their worth, to them that love profess."

Leir replies, in four lines, that he will make equal divisions. A noble wishes, in thirteen lines, that Leir had a son, but since he has not, suggests that his daughters should be mated to neighbour kings. Leir expresses, in thirteen lines, his agreement with this, says that he

has chosen for Goneril and Ragan the two near neighbouring kings of Cornwall and of Cambria, but finds Cordella, who is solicited by divers persons, fixed against marriage with any husband chosen for her, "unless love allows."

> "Yet if my policy may her beguile,
> I'll match her to some king within this Isle,
> And so establish such a perfect peace
> As fortune's force shall ne'er prevail to cease."

Perillus, an old faithful courtier, warns Leir to heed that in becoming a provident prince he lose not the title of a loving father. "Do not," he says, "force love." Leir then resolves upon a stratagem. He will try which of his daughters loves him best. When Goneril and Ragan have rivalled in professions, Cordella will protest her uttermost, and then he will try her professions by asking her to grant him one request,—

> "To show thou lovest me as thy sisters do,
> Accept a husband whom myself will woo.
> This said, she cannot well deny my suit,
> Although, poor soul, her fences will be mute:
> Then will I triumph in my policy,
> And match her with a king of Brittany."

Skalliger says aside that he will give Goneril and Ragan warning of Leir's design, and old Perillus at the end of the scene moralises—

> "Thus fathers think their children to beguile,
> And oftentimes themselves do first repent,
> When heavenly powers do frustrate their intent."

The second scene opens with Goneril and Ragan jealous of "that proud, pert peat," their youngest sister, who treats them as if they were no better than herself, imitates their new fashions in dress, or studies newer to excel them both.

> "Besides, she is so nice and so demure,
> So sober, courteous, modest and precise,
> That all the court hath work enough to do,
> To talk how she exceedeth me and you."

Skalliger then comes to prepare Goneril and Ragan for their summons to their father. As they are told that their father's will is

to marry them according to their wish, and to marry Cordella to the rich king of Hibernia if she can be trapped into accepting him, "Now," Ragan says,

> "Now have we fit occasion offered us
> To be revenged upon her unperceived.
> *Goneril.* Nay, our revenge we will inflict on her
> Shall be accounted piety in us.
> I will so flatter with my doting father
> As he was never flattered in his life.
> Nay, I will say, that if it be his pleasure
> To match me to a beggar, I will yield:
> For why, I know whatever I do say,
> He means to match me with the Cornwall king."

Ragan joins in the plot, and both exult in prospect of Cordella's discomfiture,

> "For she will rather die than give consent
> To join in marriage with the Irish king:
> So will our father think she loveth him not,
> Because she will not grant to his desire,
> Which we will aggravate in such bitter terms
> That he will soon convert his love to hate:
> For he, you know, is always in extremes."

In the third scene Leir sends Perillus to fetch his three daughters, and while he is gone speaks in soliloquy of the combat "'twixt children's love and care of commonweal." Although the world affords not children more conformable, yet his mind presages he knows not what; he fears some ill. Perillus returns with the daughters, of whom their father asks his question:

> "Which loves me most, and which at my request
> Will soonest yield unto their father's hest?"

Goneril will obey any command, tie a mill-stone about her neck and leap into the sea, or jump from the highest tower in Britain. Ragan adds to her professions that she has royal suitors, and perchance loves one,

> "Yet would you have me make my choice anew,
> I'd bridle fancy, and be ruled by you.
> *Leir.* Did never Philomel sing so sweet a note.
> *Cordella.* Did never flatterer tell so false a tale.

Leir. Speak now, Cordella, make my joys at full,
And drop down nectar from thy honey lips.
Cordella. I cannot paint my duty forth in words,
I hope my deeds shall make report for me:
But look, what love the child doth owe the father,
The same to you I bear, my gracious lord."

Then her two sisters revile her, and her father scolds, because, after all his care for them, she does not say, with her sisters, "Our life is less than love we owe to you." The sisters scold on in assertion of their love for their father, and her father casts Cordella off.

"Look for no help henceforth from me nor mine;
Shift as thou wilt, and trust unto thyself:
My kingdom will I equally divide
'Twixt thy two sisters to their royal dower,
And will bestow them worthy their deserts;
This done, because thou shalt not have the hope
To have the child's part in the time to come,
I presently will dispossess myself,
And set up these upon my princely throne.
Goneril. I ever thought that pride could have a fall.
Ragan. Plain-dealing sister, your beauty is so sheen,
You need no dowry to make you be a queen.
[*Exeunt* LEIR, GONERIL, RAGAN.
Cordella. Now whither, poor forsaken, shall I go,
When mine own sisters triumph in my woe,
But unto Him which doth protect the just;
In Him will poor Cordella put her trust.
These hands shall labour for to get my spending;
And so I'll live until my days have ending.
Perillus. Oh, now I grieve to see my lord thus fond,
To dote so much upon vain flattering words.
Ah, if he but with good advice had weighed
The hidden tenure of her humble speech,
Reason to rage should not have given place,
Nor poor Cordella suffer such disgrace."

The next scene is in France, where the Gallian king enters, with Mumford and three nobles more, to express his resolve to sail for Britain with the next fair wind, and see for himself whether Leir's three daughters are as fair as they are said to be. "If present view do

answer absent praise," he will come back with one of them. Mumford shall go with him, and goes most willingly, for he says,

> " I long to see the gallant British dames,
> And feed mine eyes upon their rare perfections."

But they will go disguised in palmers' weeds, " that no man may mistrust us what we are." The wind blows fair, and they leave the nobles to take charge of the government of Gallia, while the king and Mumford set off for England. That closes the first Act of the old play.

The Second Act opens with the King of Cornwall booted and spurred, and his man with a riding wand and a letter in his hand. He is twenty miles from the Court, and eager to be there immediately. To him enters the King of Cambria booted and spurred, and his man with a riding wand and a letter in his hand. He also is twenty miles from the Court, and eager to be there immediately. They have come with utmost haste on receipt of the letters promising to one Goneril, to the other Ragan for wife, with half Leir's seignories for dower. They are surprised to see each other, compare notes, observe that if each has half Leir's kingdom, there is nothing left for the "lovely Cordella whom the world admires," and then proceed to Court together. In the second scene Goneril and Ragan gird at Cordella, and expect their husbands. In the third scene Leir gives to them their husbands, who draw lots for the two halves of his kingdom, Perillus remaining to express his pity for Cordella. Then the scene changes to the Gallian king and Mumford disguised like pilgrims, who agree to call each other Will and Jack, who have reached Britain and accidentally meet Cordella, lamenting, upon the day of her sisters' marriage. She will not accuse fortune or her father :

> " No, no, it is the pleasure of my God ;
> And I do willingly embrace his rod."

She will put off her costly robes :

> " I will betake me to my thread and needle,
> And earn my living at my fingers' ends."

The King of Gallia is enamoured, addresses her as palmer, hears her story, tells her that the King of Gallia, who is like himself in feature, is enamoured of her. She answers the palmer that she never saw the like to him, that her state does not befit a king :

> " Then be advised, palmer, what to do,
> Cease for thy king, seek for thyself to woo."

The King of Gallia finding that Cordella loves him for himself—and she has been mighty quick about it—declares himself, and will go to church at once, that the world may say King Leir's three daughters were wedded in one day. The public celebration shall be deferred till they come to France. Mumford, through whose part there runs a great desire towards women of Britain, likes the wooing that's not long a-doing, and so ends the Second Act, which has for its matter the three marriages.

The Third Act opens with Perillus alone, who comments on the situation. None know what has become of Cordella. Leir, who has dispossessed himself of all, is now in Cornwall with his eldest daughter,

> "And now she sees he hath no more to give,
> It grieves her heart to see her father live.
> Oh, whom should men trust in this wicked age,
> When children thus against their parents rage?
> But he, the mirror of mild patience,
> Puts up all wrongs, and never gives reply:
> Yet shames she not in most opprobrious sort
> To call him fool and dotard to his face,
> And sets her parasites of purpose oft,
> In scoffing wise to offer him disgrace."

But old Perillus resolves to abide by the old Leir to his latest hour.

In the next scene Goneril advises with Skalliger how she can get free from her father, who has settled himself upon her.

> "Doth 't not suffice that I him keep of alms,
> Who is not able for to keep himself,
> But, as if he were our better, he should think
> To check and snap me up at every word?
> I cannot make me a new-fashioned gown,
> And set it forth with more than common cost,
> But his old doting, doltish, withered wit
> Is sure to give a senseless check for it.
> I cannot make a banquet extraordinary
> To grace myself and spread my name abroad,
> But he, old fool, is captious by and by,
> And saith the cost would well suffice for twice.
> Judge then, I pray, what reason is 't, that I
> Should stand alone charged with his vain expense,
> And that my sister Ragan should go free,
> To whom he gave as much as unto me."

Skalliger advises that Leir's allowance should be abridged by half. Goneril thanks him, she has done that already, but she will abridge now the other half,

> "That having no means to relieve himself,
> He may so seek elsewhere for better help." [*Exit.*

Skalliger remains to call her a viperous woman, and himself a villain for counselling a daughter against her father,

> "But as the world doth this experience give,
> That he that cannot flatter cannot live."

Having said this, Skalliger departs, and appears no more in the play.

In the next scene the King of Cornwall and nobles are with Leir and Perillus. From this point, as Perillus will never leave Leir, the two old men toddle through the play together as a Damon and Pythias of latter life. The King of Cornwall seeks to cheer Leir. Goneril enters, and he says to her—

> "My Goneril, you come in wishéd time
> To put your father from these pensive dumps.
> In faith, I fear that all things go not well.
> *Gon.* What, do you fear that I have angered him?
> Hath he complained of me unto my lord?"

She proceeds with shrewish scolding, while her husband seeks to make peace between father and daughter, till he is driven to escape from his wife's tongue, and Goneril stays only to say to her father,

> "For any one that loves your company,
> You may go pack, and seek some other place
> To sow the seed of discord and disgrace."

Leir is left to weep, Perillus holds by him and comforts him. He repents his wrong to Cordella, but he will go now to Ragan, who may be kinder. The next scene shows Ragan alone, happy in absolute rule over her husband, and showing what her father may expect from her by saying of her sister,

> "My father with her is quarter-master still,
> And many times restrains her of her will;
> But if he were with me and served me so,
> I'd send him packing somewhere else to go,
> I'd entertain him with such slender cost,
> That he should quickly wish to change his host."

The next scene at the court of the King of Cornwall shows the King anxious at the disappearance of Leir, pacified by Goneril with the suggestion that he has only stolen away to take Ragan by surprise, and see, "how all things go, and how she likes her choice." Cornwall hopes it is so, but will send a post at once for certain knowledge. Goneril will intercept the messenger, and secure his return with the expected answer; or if Lear has fallen sick, died on the road, and as a common passenger be dead and buried—Would God it were so well!

> "For then there were no more to do but this,
> He went away, and none knows where he is."

But she knows he will have no welcome from Ragan, and she will send after him such thunderclaps of slander, scandal, and invented tales, that all the blame shall be removed from her, and all the world shall think she used him well.

Then enters "the messenger that should go to Cambria, with a letter in his hand." Goneril opens the letter, gives the messenger a purse to bind him as a villain to her service, gives him other letters written by herself, and obtains his promise to corroborate them by traducing Leir.

In the next scene we see Cordella alone, in France, to learn by her words that she worships God, loves her husband, has all she could wish but her father's forgiveness for an unknown wrong, bears no malice to her sisters, and "will go to church, to pray unto my Saviour." The supposed date of the action is about eight centuries before Christ, but the old dramatist brings in also the battle-cries of St. George and St. Denis, and, nearer home still, an allusion to the Puritans.

In the next scene the two old men, Leir and Perillus, come lovingly together to the Court of Ragan, who receives her father with dissembled kindness in the presence of her husband. But then comes the messenger with Goneril's letters. Ragan frowns and stamps while reading them, and promises more gold to the messenger if he will stab her father. Let him come to her at nine o'clock next morning to receive particular instructions. The last scene of the Third Act then shows the Gallian king and Cordella, whom he comforts with promise to send ambassadors at once to Britain, to the King of Cornwall's court, where her father keeps his residence,

> "And in the kindest manner him entreat
> That, setting former grievances apart,
> He will be pleased to come and visit us.

If no entreaty will suffice the turn,
I'll offer him the half of all my crown:
If that moves not, we'll furnish out a fleet
And sail to Cornwall for to visit him."

Cordella is cheered, and so the Act ends, its purpose having been to set forth the behaviour of each of Leir's three daughters after their marriages.

The Fourth Act opens with the meeting of Ragan and the messenger at the appointed hour. She gives a purse into one of his hands for the murder of her father, and a purse into the other hand for killing the old man, his friend. He wishes that he had ten hands, but says that if she will put another purse into his mouth he can tear ten with his teeth. Ragan's plan is to bring the old men before daybreak next morning into a thicket two miles from the Court, where she will profess to her father a desire for private conference with him. There the murderer will be able to do his work securely.

The second scene in this Act shows the coming of the King of Gallia's ambassador to Cornwall and Goneril. He will give his letters to Leir only, and at the King of Cornwall's invitation he will wait until it is known whither Leir is gone.

The third scene shows Leir and Perillus in the wood, expecting Ragan. They are sleepy from having risen for so early an appointment. Leir pulls out a book to read; they pray, they fall asleep. "Enter the messenger, or murtherer, with two daggers in his hands." He must not kill them sleeping, because he was bidden to show Leir Goneril's letter to Ragan before killing him. They wake, and there is a dialogue in which the devotion to each other, the pious resignation and the warning wisdom of the greybeards, with the help of a few well-timed claps of thunder, changes the murderer's mind. He leaves them unhurt, but they have seen Goneril's letter, and Leir knows the bloody minds of Goneril and Ragan. Perillus advises, and it is agreed between them that they should proceed to France, Perillus bidding Leir

"Remember well what words Cordella spake,
What time you asked her how she loved your grace,
She said her love unto you was as much
As ought a child to bear unto her father."

In the next scene the Gallian ambassador, alone, declares himself ill-used by Goneril, and is setting forth to look for Leir in Cambria.

The next scene of the Fourth Act is at the Court of the King of Gallia,

wherein the king, Mumford, and Cordella resolve to go in disguise for pleasure—the king and Cordella as plain country people, and Mumford as Roger, their man—for a picnic by the sea-shore.

In the next and last scene of the Fourth Act, Ragan's husband is perplexed by Leir's disappearance. Ragan counterfeits great sorrow; the French ambassador comes with his letters to Leir, and Ragan endeavours to fasten upon Cordella the guilt of her father's murder, and sending the ambassador as a blind. She strikes the ambassador. She weeps. She brings her husband to believe that it is so.

The Fifth Act opens with Leir, Perillus, and two mariners, in sea-gowns and sea-caps. They have been carried over to the shore of France, and as they have no money Leir gives his cloak, Perillus his doublet, in exchange for the coarse clothes of the sailors, Perillus having sought in vain to make the payment wholly from clothes of his own; but they reflect that the change of dress will be convenient.

It happens that they have been landed near the spot to which the Gallian King, Cordella, and Mumford come with their picnic basket. Cordella as a peasant woman hears her father speak of his daughters, knows him, but is restrained by her husband from making herself known too soon. The two old men, faint for want of food, eat, drink, and are cheered. Cordella makes herself known. There is much kneeling one to another. The King of Gallia resolves to repossess Leir of his throne.

The next scene shows Ragan alone, in distress at the absence of her messenger of death, whom she had designed to kill when he had done his work; now her guilt may become known, for the two old men have escaped to France.

The third scene shows the Gallian king with his army, of which Mumford is next in command under him, about to cross over from France. The fourth scene shows toss-pot watchmen neglecting to fire the beacon when the French arrive, find the garrison a-bed, and have easy victory over half-naked men. The chief of the town is bound, but is told that the invaders mean no hurt, only the restoration of the rule to Leir. The British reply that the country has been overtaxed, and that Leir will find all his people ready to receive him back. Cornwall, Cambria, Goneril, and Ragan come with their army. There is a scolding-match, in which Leir shows Goneril her letter to Ragan. Then there is a fight, in which nobody seems to be killed. Mumford closely follows up the King of Cambria, but his legs save him. Leir is reinstated, and understands now what Cordella meant by saying she loved him dearly, and as ought a child. He will never forget the true love of his old friend Perillus; he [praises Mumford's valour (I have touched

lightly on the humours of his love to womankind), and invites Cordella and her husband to stay with him awhile before they return to France.

That is the substance of the old play, from which we pass at a bound to Shakespeare's "Lear."

Shakespeare's treatment of the Story.

Shakespeare has given two of his plays—"Lear" and "Coriolanus" — to the illustration of the mighty force that is in the ties of nature which are God's best earthly gift to man. In "Lear" he has shown the tragedy of life when they are rent. The peace of home love, the very stronghold of right battle in the world, is so familiar, so full of playful ease, that we are apt to think as little of its force as of the fury of the sea when it laps the shore on summer evenings. Let there be but the suspicion of a chill look or a hard word where home love should be, and we wince, as we wince at nothing else that is in itself so trivial. Here Shakespeare puts for the chill look extremest cruelty, and shows life in its wildest storm of suffering. All trappings of artificial majesty are blown away as straws in the wind; naked humanity is stretched upon the rack.

The story—of which the matter could not, without invented additions, fill the five Acts of a play—has no feeble humours of Mumford thrust into it, but is doubled in tragic force by the interweaving of another tale of a father and two sons, one cruel as Lear's cruel daughters, and beloved of them, the other faithful as Cordelia. The tale of Gloster was suggested by an episode in the Second Book (chapter x.) of Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia."* It is so interwoven by Shakespeare with the tale of Lear as to crowd with action a play that would have moved slowly without it, to intensify the expression of the central thought or motive upon which the action turns, and to produce artistic contrasts and combinations which are all true to the innermost and of amazing

* "E. W." ix. 131.

power. To take only one example, we owe to the union of the two stories the scene at the hovel in which Lear's wits finally turn, and the assumed madness of the outcast Edgar plays about Lear wildly with a ring of love and pity that distinguishes clearly the mock-madness from the real. I may note, by the way, that shivering cry, "Tom's a-cold," with which Edgar covers the forced outbreak of tears and the trembling of emotion, especially in presence of his father. Add to this the deep tenderness of the whole conception of the Fool, who pined away after Cordelia's departure into France, who held by Lear, and, like Kent, spoke to his master the simple truth that is one part of love. Lear pines in his heart also for Cordelia, and loves the Fool; the first offence of her father named by Goneril was that he struck her gentleman for chiding of his Fool. In the scene at the hovel he is ready to go in, that his Fool—the fading, loving boy—shall have shelter from the storm: "In, boy, go first."

They who suppose that Shakespeare produced his effects on the mind by a vague inspiration without labour and pain, or conscious careful thought, might learn otherwise from observation of his way of setting forth Lear's madness. His act in disinheriting Cordelia was a passionate impulse, and the original character that under intense trial breaks down into madness was of a royal mind with strong affections, but weak in yielding to rash impulses, a weakness that has grown with age. As his unkind daughters paint him between themselves at the close of the first scene, "You see how full of changes his age is. . . . The best and soundest of his time hath been but rash." At the end of the first Act, under torture of soul from the cruelty of Goneril, he exclaims, "Oh, let me not be mad, not mad, sweet heaven! Keep me in temper, I would not be mad." The dread of madness grows, as the cause of it presses more and more upon his heart. In the close of the second Act

under torture from the cruelty of both the daughters, he exclaims, "Oh, fool, I shall go mad." In the tempest in the second scene of the Third Act he cries, "My wits begin to turn," and in the fourth scene, as his daughters' cruelty in shutting him out in the storm presses on him, he cries,

> "In such a night as this! Oh, Regan, Goneril,
> Your old kind father whose frank heart gave all,—
> Oh, that way madness lies; let me shun that;
> No more of that."

The complete turning of Lear's wits is when he is in contact with the assumed madness of Edgar. Kent says of him in that scene, "His wits begin to unsettle;" in the fifth scene of the same Act, Kent reports of him that "All the power of his wits has given way to his impatience;" and, in the sixth scene, "His wits are gone."

This exactly marked gradation, expressed in distinct words that blend with the action of the play and call no formal attention to the care with which they are arranged, represents an art that is to be found everywhere in Shakespeare's work.

While the power of love in the ties of kindred is here represented by Shakespeare as the greatest of all forces in the earthly life of man, side by side with it, or rather one with it, is the representation of sincerity as the true salt of love. Cordelia flinches from her sisters' flatteries, and says all in saying simply that she loves according to her bond, nor more nor less. Kent, who gives all to Lear and risks life for him, speaks plain words of warning. The dying boy, the Fool, who shares Lear's suffering and fades out of the story, lost by the way, and passed, we feel, into the peace of heaven, speaks all truth while his girds and songs play lovingly about the old man, Cordelia's afflicted father. And at the last, it is not without purpose that Shakespeare makes Lear die intent on the true

lips whose language he had misconstrued. He labours for one breath from them, and dies exclaiming—

> "Look on her,—look,—her lips,—
> Look there, look there."

Even the manner of the death is prepared for—the *hysterica passio*, the rising spasm of the heart—by twice giving to Lear, under strong emotion, warning attacks of it in previous scenes. In the fourth scene of the Second Act he cries—

> "Oh, how this mother swells up toward my heart!
> Hysterica passio! down, thou climbing sorrow!"

and towards the close of the same scene,

> "O me! my heart, my rising heart!—but down!"

In the extreme anguish caused him by Cordelia's death comes the third seizure, that is fatal.

went to Tournay for a short time, but was recalled to complete his studies in Rome, where he was made Prefect of the English College. In 1585 he was ordained priest, and he was sent in July of the following year with Henry Garnet into England. Here he lived as domestic chaplain and confessor to the Countess of Arundel, and sought peacefully for six years to bring back into the spiritual fold of his own church many of those who had feared to remain in it. From 1592 he was a prisoner until his death upon the gallows in 1595, and it was only after his execution that men learnt what music had been in the soul they sent to heaven.

In 1595 Southwell's first little book appeared, "Saint Peter's Complaint, with other Poems," printed by J. Wolfe, and again in the same year by Gabriel Cawood. It was followed, still in the same year, by "Mæoniæ; or, certain excellent Poems and spirituall Hymnes, omitted in the last impression of 'Peter's Complaint'; being needful thereunto to be annexed, as being both divine and wittie. All composed by R. S. Imprinted by Valentine Sims, for J. Busbie." Valentine Sims issued also in the same year, "The Triumph over Death; or, a Consolatorie Epistle for Afflicted Minds in the Affects of dying Friends. First written for the Consolation of one, but now published for the General Good of all." A few more pieces were added later; "Marie Magdalene's Funeral Teares" were printed for W. Leake in 1609.

Southwell's poems express the spirit of religion rather than the form. "Saint Peter's Complaint" is the pious soul's lament for an hour of weakness in which Christ was denied; "The Magdalene's Tears" are of repentance for the stain of a false love in one who now looks only to the true. There is a collection of love poems, in which Southwell dwells upon the love to God that has its chief fruition after death. God's Love is to the Soul of man, and at the close

of a short poem—"At Home in Heaven"—enforcing this, Southwell exclaims—

> "O Soul! out of thyself seek God alone:
> Grace more than thine, but God's, the world hath none."

Such grace in Southwell shines through all his verse. But he was drawn on a hurdle through the mud to Tyburn, and at the foot of the gallows wiped the mud from his face with a handkerchief that his friends laid by as a sacred relic.

The Change of Reign.

James was treated with, before his accession to the throne, and gave good hope to the Roman Catholics. No quiet subject, he said, should be persecuted for his religion. That also was his private purpose, though it implied only toleration to the laity. The Roman Catholic priests being, as he felt, natural enemies to the supremacy of the Crown in Church matters, he meant to send them all abroad if possible. Desire for the subversion of Protestant rule in England had been intensified by penalties of death for celebrating mass, and fines on recusants.

There were two under-currents of Roman Catholic plotting when James came to England: one was set in movement by those Jesuits who looked for help from Spain in setting a Roman Catholic upon the throne; the other was a wild scheme of a secular priest, William Watson, who hated the Jesuits, and had a plan of his own for carrying the king off to the Tower, and there converting him. Discovery of Watson's plot implicated other men in suspicions. Lord Cobham was arrested, and from him accusation passed on to Sir Walter Raleigh, whom James had promptly begun to strip of honours and possessions. After a trial, in November, 1603 (at which Raleigh, of all men in England the one least open to such a charge, had been denounced by the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Coke, as "a monster with an English face, but a Spanish heart"—

Raleigh sent to the Tower.

Raleigh! whose ruling passion might almost be said to be animosity to Spain, and whom James eventually caused to be executed at the wish of Spain), Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned to death as guilty of high treason by sharing in a plot to depose James and make Arabella Stuart queen. Raleigh was respited, but detained during the next twelve years as a prisoner in the Tower of London.

King James and the Roman Catholics.

On the twenty-second of February the king issued a proclamation ordering all Jesuits and seminary priests to leave the realm before the nineteenth of March. But he forgave the Roman Catholic laity their fines as recusants; he had placed a Roman Catholic upon his Privy Council; and he was making peace with Spain. The proclamation for expulsion of the priests immediately produced another plot. The day of issue of the proclamation was the day after Ash Wednesday, 1604, and in the beginning of Lent Robert Catesby called Thomas Winter to London to join with himself and John Wright in a plot for blowing up the Parliament House. At the end of April an Englishman of known audacity, Guido Fawkes, was brought from Flanders. Thomas Percy, who was related to the Earl of Northumberland, completed the number of five, who were first bound by an oath of secrecy to united effort for attainment of their purpose. On the twenty-fourth of May, 1604, Percy took a house adjoining the Parliament House, and Guido Fawkes, under the name of John Johnson, lived with him as a servant. The house at Lambeth in which Catesby lodged was taken for use in storing materials. At the end of the year, Parliament being expected to meet in February, 1605, underground boring was begun at the wall of the Parliament House, which was nine feet thick. When Parliament was prorogued until October, the work was relaxed; it was then resumed again under difficulties, till the conspirators heard that there ran under the Parliament House a cellar from which a stock of coals was being sold

off, and of which they could obtain a lease. Thomas Percy bought the lease of the cellar, which he said he needed for his coals. They soon placed in it twenty barrels of powder from the house at Lambeth, and covered them with billets of wood and fagots. Then they rested till September, when fresh powder was brought in to make good any damage by damp. But Parliament was prorogued to the fifth of November, and they again had leisure.

While this plot was in progress, the king had found the number of recusants increased by ten thousand after the remission of the fines. In November, 1604, fines were again levied, and in the following February the king required that all penal laws against the Roman Catholics should be enforced, but that the priests should be expelled, not executed.

Discovery of the Gunpowder Plot led to increased severity of the laws against recusants. Roman Catholics were not to escape fine by attendance at a parish church; they were to be tested also by requirement of attendance at the sacrament. The enforcement of this test, repugnant to religious feeling on both sides, happily soon fell into disuse. Recusants did not escape with fine alone; they had to submit to various civil disabilities. It was at this time that a new Oath of Allegiance was devised for distinguishing those Roman Catholics who refused to abjure the Pope's claim to a deposing power. Roman Catholics who refused that oath incurred penalties of a præmunire in addition to the burdens laid upon all recusants.

This Oath of Allegiance was one that many Roman Catholic Englishmen could honestly take, for it repudiated only a recognition of the Pope's claim to depose a sovereign and release his Roman Catholic subjects from all ties of allegiance to him. But, on the other hand, the Pope, in September, 1606, formally declared that the oath could not be taken by English

Controversy on the Oath of Allegiance.

Roman Catholics without peril to their souls. In August, 1607, he reiterated this.

In 1608 King James replied to the two briefs of the Pope, and to the remonstrance of Cardinal Bellarmine addressed, on the twenty-eighth of September, 1607, to the Roman Catholic Archpriest, Blackwell. Blackwell (being imprisoned in the Gate House) had himself taken the oath, and advised others to do so, an act for which he was deprived of his office by the Court of Rome. The king, with the strained ingenuity of the time, entitled his Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, "Triplici Nodo Triplex Cuneus" (To the Triple Knot a Triple Wedge). The triple knot was represented by the three letters—two from the Pope and one from Cardinal Bellarmine. The triple wedge was the answer King James gave to each, after quoting it in full. Cardinal Bellarmine replied, writing under the name of his secretary, Matthew Tortus. To Matthew Tortus, Lancelot Andrewes replied for the king, also in Latin, with a volume called "Tortura Torti." Bellarmine added, in 1610, an "Apology" for his Reply to King James, which was nearly twice as long as the Reply itself. In the same year, 1610, John Donne first commended himself to James's hearty goodwill by adding to the controversy, on the king's side, an English book which suggested in its title that the English Roman Catholics who suffered through refusal of the oath were idly making of themselves false martyrs. The book was called "Pseudo-martyr. Wherein out of certaine Propositions and Gradations, this conclusion is evicted. That those which are of the Romane Religion in this Kingdome, may and ought to take the Oath of Allegeance." Of this controversy more will be said when Andrewes and Donne come into our story.

From the relation of the Reformed Church to the Roman Catholics when James I. became King of England, we turn now to its relation to the Puritans. A petition,

to which seven hundred and fifty ministers of the Church gave their assent, and which, being supposed to represent the desire of a thousand of the clergy, was called the Millenary Petition, was presented to King James when on his way from Scotland in 1603. It sought the changes then most wished for by the Puritans. The two great Universities condemned the petitioners. The king heard both sides in a three days' Conference at Hampton Court, after making up his mind in private conclave with one side how far he would see reason in the pleadings of the other. Richard Bancroft, who had been Bishop of London since 1597, openly regarded the representatives of Puritan opinion—Dr. John Rainolds and Dr. Thomas Sparke, Professors of Divinity in Oxford, Laurence Chaderton and John Knewstub, of Cambridge—as schismatics, whose mouths ought to be stopped. When the argument touched freedom of the Church in things indifferent, the king said, "I will not argue with you, but answer as kings in Parliament, *Le Roy s'avisera.* This is like Mr. John Black, a beardless boy, who told me at the last conference in Scotland that he would hold conformity with me in doctrine, but that every man as to ceremonies was to be left to his own liberty: but I will have none of that; I will have one doctrine, one discipline; one religion in substance and ceremony. Never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey." Presently Dr. Rainolds asked for a restoration of the "prophesyings," * as in Grindal's time; and that questions not to be resolved by them might be referred to the archdeacon's visitation, and from thence to the diocesan synod, where the bishop with his presbyters should determine such points as were too difficult for the other meetings. Here the king broke in with the angry exclamation that they

King James and the Puritans.

* "E. W." viii. 332–334.

were aiming at a Scotch presbytery, "which agrees," he said, "with monarchy as well as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom, Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure both me and my council. Therefore, pray stay one seven years before you demand that of me, and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipe stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you; for let that government be up, and I am sure I shall be kept in breath. But till you find I grow lazy, pray let that alone. I remember how they used the poor lady, my mother, in Scotland, and me in my minority." Then turning to the bishops he put his hand to his hat and said, "My lords, I may thank you that these Puritans plead for my supremacy, for if once you are out and they in place, I know what would become of my supremacy; for no bishop, no king. Well, doctor, have you anything else to offer?" Dr. Rainolds: "No more, if it please your Majesty." Then rising from his chair, the king said, "If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of this land, or else worse."

A few alterations in the Book of Common Prayer were allowed at the Conference, and the king assented to the wish for a new authorised version of the Bible, provided it were without marginal notes. Of all the translations, he said, that of Geneva was worst, because of the marginal notes which allowed disobedience to kings.

The king required of the Puritans, by proclamation, absolute conformity. A book of canons for the binding of the clergy, containing 141 articles, was introduced to the Upper House of Convocation by Dr. Bancroft, and Dr. Rudd, Bishop of St. David's, spoke generously on the side of Christian charity.

Dr. Rudd was answered by Bancroft and others, and was not allowed to reply to them. Bancroft, at the

Hampton Court Conference, had knelt and petitioned the king for a praying ministry, saying that the service of the Church had been neglected since preaching had come into fashion. Besides, he had said, pulpit harangues are dangerous, and humbly moved that the number of homilies might be increased, and that the clergy might be obliged to read them instead of sermons, in which many vented their spleen against their superiors. It was not likely, therefore, that Bancroft paid much heed to the plea that there would be fewer efficient preachers if the Puritans were forced out of the Church.

In December, 1604, Richard Bancroft succeeded John Whitgift as Archbishop of Canterbury, and continued to support the policy of the Crown until his death in 1610. His severe repression of the Puritans obliged many to separate from the Church; but his successor in 1610, Dr. George Abbot, greatly relaxed the enforcement of laws levelled against Puritan opinion, and spent all his zeal in battle against those who gave allegiance to the Pope.

Authorised Version of the Bible, 1611.

It was in the first year of Dr. Abbot's primacy that the translation of the Bible authorised by James I., and since used in the English churches, was completed and published. It had been suggested by the Puritans in the Hampton Court Conference, and assented to on condition that it kept as near as possible to the Bishops' Bible, left the Biblical names and the division into chapters untouched, used the old ecclesiastical words—as "church," not "congregation"—and had no side-notes, except for the explaining of a Hebrew or Greek word. The work was begun in 1606, and carried out by forty-seven translators, parted into six companies, who divided the work among them. All being finished and revised, the authorised version of the Bible was published in 1611 in a massive volume, having been seen through the press by Dr.

Miles Smith and Dr. Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester. Bilson had been Winchester born, Winchester bred, and Master of Winchester School, before ending his life in 1616 as Bishop of Winchester. Dr. Miles Smith, Bilson's fellow-editor, was canon residentiary of his native town of Hereford. It was he who wrote the "Preface" to the new version, and in the following year (1612) he was made Bishop of Gloucester. He died in the year 1624.

Close following of the Bishops' version, which itself kept in view the preceding translations, produced in King James's Bible a fine blending of the work of all who had first laboured with intense devotion to bring home to every Englishman the Word of God. Its forty-seven translators were at work when Shakespeare was in the full noon of his genius and wrote "King Lear." There was intense life behind them and about them; and in the midst of strife as to the best form of Church, they produced a Bible from which God has spoken to the hearts of Englishmen of every creed, in a book unclouded by ephemeral dispute, through words that give their dignity to every speech with which they blend, while they sustain, firmly as human language may, the hearts which they have lifted to the love of God and man.

CHAPTER VI.

PLAYS OF SHAKESPEARE—1607-1610.

THE BOOKE OF PERICLES PRYNCE OF TYRE was entered in the Stationers' Registers for the 20th of May, 1608, by Edward Blount, who entered also on the same day "Antony and Cleopatra." But the quarto did not appear until 1609, and it was then published by Henry Gosson as "The Late and much admired Play, called Pericles, Prince of Tyre, with the true Relation of the whole Historie, adventures, and fortunes of the said Prince: As also, the no less strange and worthie accidents in the Birth and Life of his Daughter Marina. As it hath been diuers and sundry times acted by his Maiestie's Seruants, at the Globe on the Banck-side. By William Shakespeare." Of this quarto there was a reprint in the same year. "Pericles."

That "Pericles" was being acted with success at the Globe in 1607, or in the beginning of 1608, is shown not only by Blount's entry of it in May, 1608, but also by the publication in the same year, 1608, of a book by George Wilkins, called "The Painfull Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre. Being the true History of the Play of Pericles, as it was lately presented by the worthy and ancient poet, Iohn Gower." In the argument before this book the reader is asked to receive its History "in the same manner as it was vnder the habite of ancient Gower the famous English Poet, by the Kings Maiesties Players

excellently presented." This publication has a distinct value in such transcription of the acted play into prose as makes it possible sometimes to note omitted passages, and guess at restorations of the text. There were later editions of "Pericles" in 1611, 1619, 1630, and 1635; but Shakespeare's fellow-players, Heminge and Condell, did not include the play in the first folio of his works (1623), nor was it in the second folio (1632). It first appeared among his works in the third folio (1664), and was too well known to have been omitted accidentally.

The text of the first editions was printed so carelessly that metre and sense in many passages are lost beyond recovery. For this the original author or authors must not, of course, be made responsible. The play, no doubt, is the work of another man retouched by Shakespeare. The story was an old popular tale—a "mouldy tale," Ben Jonson called it, for its age,—which had its origin in a Greek metrical romance, translated in the eleventh century into Latin prose as *Apollonii Tyrii Historia*. Godfrey of Viterbo, who lived in the twelfth century, and was Chaplain and Secretary to Conrad III. and to the Emperor Barbarossa, dedicated to Pope Urban III. a chronicle in prose and verse, which he called his "Pantheon," from the Creation to the year 1186. It abounded in stories, that were used afterwards by novelists and poets, and among them was the tale of Pericles—Apollonius of Tyre—which reappeared also in the *Gesta Romanorum*, and in other collections. Chaucer's friend and fellow poet, John Gower, himself tells us that he took the story from the "Pantheon," when he included it among the illustrations of the seven deadly sins in his "Confessio Amantis." *

From Gower's "Confessio Amantis" the story of the play ascribed to Shakespeare has been directly taken. The play was conspicuous for disregard of unities of place and

* "E. W." iv. 231.

time; connecting narrative was, therefore, required to join the acts together, and for this purpose Gower was made to serve as Chorus.

The story in French, as *la Cronicque et Hystoire d'Appolin roy de Thir*, was printed at Geneva in 1482; our English version of it was printed by Wynken de Worde in 1510. In 1576, William Howe entered at Stationers' Hall "the historie of the strange adventures of Prince Apollonius, Lucina his wife, and Tharsa his daughter," set forth in print with this title, "The Pattern of Paynful Adventures." This was published in the same year, as "gathered nto English by Laurence Twine, gentleman." It was based on the Latin of the *Gesta Romanorum*, and there was another edition of it in 1607—perhaps in consequence of the appearance of the play. The first writer of the play of "Pericles" did not take the tale from "The Pattern of Painful Adventures," but from Gower, though it has been suggested that there are some indications of his having also read the tale as gathered into English by Laurence Twine.

The theme of the old tale is the old theme of life tossed upon the waves of Fortune, who sometimes restores all with a full hand to those who can abide the pelting of her pitiless storm. Here the wind changes at last, and prosperity storms in on Pericles before he is left to end his life in the warm sunshine. The tale of Apollonius of Tyre would never have been current, as it was, through Europe, if its parable had not been taken up by many a heart much exercised in troubles of the world.

"Antony and Cleopatra."

Shakespeare's "Antony and Cleopatra" shows how, as Plutarch said, "the last and extremest mischief of all other (to wit, the love of Cleopatra) lighted on Antony, who did waken and stir up many vices yet hidden in him, and were never seen to any; and if any spark of goodness or hope of rising were left him,

Cleopatra quenched it straight and made it worse than before." It is the old, old warning to avoid the house of the strange woman, "for her house inclineth unto death, and her paths unto the dead. None that go unto her return again, neither take they hold of the paths of life."

The play was, of course, written after "Julius Cæsar," from which it carries on the sequence of historical events. In "Julius Cæsar" Antony first appears as "for the course," and his love of pleasure is indicated at the outset—

> "*Cassius.* Will you go see the order of the course?
> *Brutus.* Not I.
> *Cassius.* I pray you, do.
> *Brutus.* I am not gamesome: I do lack some part
> Of that quick spirit that is in Antony."

In "Julius Cæsar" the higher use of that quick spirit is chiefly dwelt upon, and the soul of the story is found in a truth of life that has no relation with that shown to be at the heart of the tale of Antony's final ruin. In the two plays there is a continuous tale in two parts, each part shaped for enforcement of that first principle which its problem of life especially illustrates. Each play, therefore, as to its central thought, is entirely distinct from the other; and in this respect the sequence in "Julius Cæsar" and "Antony and Cleopatra" differs from the sequence of "King Richard II.," the two parts of "King Henry IV.," and "King Henry V.," in which plays there is a continuation, not only of the setting forth of one series of historical events, but also of the setting forth of one poetical conception.

The writing of "Antony and Cleopatra" may possibly have followed some years after the writing of "Julius Cæsar." It was entered at Stationers' Hall on the twentieth May, 1608, to Edward Blunt, "for his copie vnder thandes of Sir George Buck, knight, and Master Warden Seton. A

booke called 'The booke of Pericles prynce of Tyre.' Also to his copye by the lyke Aucthoritie, A booke called 'Anthony and Cleopatra.'" There were two quartos of "Pericles" in 1609, but of "Antony and Cleopatra" no quarto is known. It seems to have been first printed in the folio of 1623.

This play has a certain relation in its motive to the trilogy on Henry IV. and Henry V. In the trilogy we see a generous nature tempted by the pleasures of the world, through the same quick spirit that was in Antony—"most subject is the fattest soil to weeds:"—but Prince Harry was not hopelessly entangled in the net. He rose again and again at the call of duty, finally cast off Falstaff, the embodiment of pleasures of the flesh, and went to the battle of life —as King Henry V. to the Battle of Agincourt—"God before." In Antony, Shakespeare takes pains also to represent a nature large and liberal, a man capable of generous thought and high achievement, a ripe soldier, linked with the young Octavius, whose narrower way of thought—banked in like Hotspur's—yields him no temptation to turn aside. But Antony is past fifty. Shakespeare has followed Plutarch very closely in construction of his play, and has conceived, according to his author, an Antony aged fifty-three or fifty-six, not yet emancipated from the fetters of the sense, caught in the net of a Cleopatra of eight-and-thirty, who neglects no art for the preservation of her charms. In this respect there is to be observed a strong dramatic contrast between the boy-and-girl love of Romeo and Juliet, a passion of the fancy that transforms the real to the ideal, and the animal passion of Antony and Cleopatra, that quenches every pure aspiration, and draws the spirit with the body earth to earth.

But is this a fair way of regarding Shakespeare's Cleopatra? Is she not such a Cleopatra as might win an Antony? Of course she is. If Falstaff had not been shown to us

good-humoured, sociable, and witty, but had been painted as some lean-witted tub-preacher might describe enticements of the flesh, he would have been shown as a man by whom Prince Hal would have been repelled, and not attracted. It was of the essence of Shakespeare's art, in every sense, to paint Falstaff as one who could surround with pleasant humours the plain fact that he was a thief, a coward, and a liar; to make him so kindly and amusing, that we are all of one mind with the prince in finding him good company. It needed a Falstaff to win comradeship with Prince Hal. In like manner, no acrasia less enchanting than a Cleopatra could have dragged down Antony.

In the first lines of the play, spoken by Philo in the house of Cleopatra, Shakespeare distinctly marks its theme, and associates comment on "the dotage of our general," who is described as a "strumpet's fool," when he first enters with Cleopatra by his side. As for Cleopatra, her first words to him mock at his wife. When he hears of his wife's death, and of the troubles that call on him for action, Antony's spirit is roused to a struggle to possess himself—

> "These strong Egyptian fetters I must break,
> Or lose myself in dotage."

And again—

> "I must from this enchanting queen break off;
> Ten thousand harms more than the ills I know
> My idleness doth hatch."

When Enobarbus speaks of Cleopatra as a business to set against the business in the state, Antony says, "No more light answers;" and when the roused sense of duty is met by the wishes of Cleopatra, it only half yields, and leaves her with a woman's admiration of a man who can be resolute. He leaves for Rome, and he

leaves Cleopatra bound, in their own way, to him, as he to her. "Did I, Charmian, ever love Cæsar so?"

In the Second Act Antony's more generous nature shows itself in the dialogue with Cæsar, and he accepts marriage with Cæsar's sister in good faith. But the picture of Cleopatra when she first charmed Antony upon the river of Cydnus, as shown by Enobarbus, is set in the middle of the story of his marriage to Octavia. We are shown also the light passion of Cleopatra when she hears that Antony is married to Octavia. In the third scene of the Third Act there is skilful suggestion of love built on the clay, in Cleopatra's questioning of the messenger; for it looks only to the bodily features of Octavia, her stature, voice, face, forehead, and the colour of her hair, and draws much consolation from fleshly comparisons. In the same Act, in the decisive sea-fight, Antony is drawn from victory to follow Cleopatra, who had fled.

> "She once being looſed,
> The noble ruin of her magic, Antony,
> Claps on his sea-wing, and, like a doting mallard,
> Leaving the fight in height, flies after her.
> I never saw an action of such shame:
> Experience, manhood, honour, ne'er before
> Did violate so itself."

In the later scenes Antony is still shown as a noble ruin. His dealing with Enobarbus, when deserted even by that once honest friend, is one clear indication of the generosity of Antony's large nature. He beats strong wings and lifts his head as if to soar, caught as an eagle in the toils. The strength of his desire towards Cleopatra is the weakness of Antony; the strength of her desire towards Antony is the whole strength of Cleopatra. Beyond that, her care in life is artifice of her profession as a beauty, who, at the age of thirty-eight, cannot afford to trust too simply to Nature. She has, in her own

strength, pathetic traces at the last of that which might have been the glory of her womanhood, had not her thoughts been low.

"Troilus and Cressida."

In the register of the Company of Stationers of London, under date of the 7th of February, 1603 (new style), there was entered to Master Robertes "for his copie in full Court holden this day to print when he hath gotten sufficient aucthority for yt, The book of 'Troilus and Cresseda,' as yt is acted by my Lord Chamberlens Men." As there is no known copy of the book so entered, we cannot tell whether sufficient authority was obtained for the printing; and we are free to suppose that the play in question was that which we ascribe to Shakespeare, or that it was an older work from which the play ascribed to him was fashioned.

On the 28th of January, 1609 (new style), there was entered in the same register to Richard Bonion and Henry Walleys — two young stationers who were just beginning business — "for their copy under thandes of Master Segar deputy to Sir George Bucke and Master Warden Lownes, a book called 'The History of Troilus and Cressida.'" Of this book copies dated 1609 have come down to us in two states as "imprinted by G. Eld for R. Bonion and H. Whalley, and are to be sold at the Spred Eagle in Paules Church-yard, ouer against the great North doore."

(1) Some copies have on their title-page, "'The Famous Historie of Troylus and Cresseid,' excellently expressing the beginning of their loves, with the conceited wooing of Pandarus, Prince of Licia. Written by William Shakespeare." Copies with this title-page had also a preface by "a neuer writer to an euer reader," which began by speaking of the work as "a new play, never staled with the stage, never clapper-clawed with the palms of the vulgar."

(2) Some copies have on their title-page, "'The Historie of Troylus and Cresseida.' As it was acted by the Kings Maiesties servants at the Globe. Written by William Shakespeare."

The substance of the book issued in these two forms being the same, the natural inference is that when first published the play, as the preface said, had not been acted; but that after it had been first produced at the Globe in that year (1609), the fact was recognised by inserting a new title-page and omitting the printer's preface that would be no longer true. If we read the evidence in this way, the date of the first production of Shakespeare's "Troilus and Cressida" is 1609.

It has been suggested, however, that the first title-page was that which called the play "The Historie," and not "The Famous Historie," because the play was entered in the Stationers' books as "The Historie," and is called "The Historie" upon the headlines of all pages of this edition; also because there is a parenthetical printer's signature at the bottom of the leaf of preface following the title. The first leaf of the text of the play is called "A 2," leaving the title to be counted as "A 1"; but there is also a signature "¶ 2" to the leaf of printer's preface. I cannot find much weight in these arguments. The preface would hardly have been thought of when the printing was begun, and therefore would not have been allowed for in the signatures of pages. To reverse the order of the title-pages, is to suppose that the players having objected to a title-page which advertised the work as being acted, the printers produced another title-page with a preface to say that it was not being acted. This must argue in the actors a singular desire to avoid public advertisement, and in the printers absurd contradiction of a patent fact. Shakespeare's name being retained, there

could be no purpose of suggestion that this was another play on the same subject, and not that which had been produced upon the stage. This was the preface to "The Famous Historie":

"*A neuer Writer to an euer Reader.—Newes.*

"Eternall reader, you haue heere a new play, neuer stal'd with the Stage, neuer clapper-clawd with the palmes of the vulger, and yet passing full of the palme comicall; for it is a birth of his braine that neuer vnder-tooke any thing commicall vainely: And were but the vaine names of commedies changde for the titles of commodities, or of Playes for Pleas; you should see all those grand censors, that now stile them such vanities, flock to them for the maine grace of their grauities: especially this author's Commedies, they are so fram'd to the life, that they serue for the most common Commentaries of all the actions of our liues, shewing such a dexteritie, and power of witte, that the most displeased with Playes, are pleasd with his Commedies. And all such dull and heauy-witted worldlings, as were neuer capable of the witte of a Commedie, comming by report of them to his representations, haue found that witte there, that they neuer found in them selues, and have parted better wittied then they came: feeling an edge of witte set upon them, more then euer they dreamd they had braine to grind it on. So much and such sauored salt of witte is in his Commedies, that they seeme (for their height of pleasure) to be borne in that sea that brought forth Venus. Amongst all there is none more witty then this: And had I time I would comment upon it, though I know it needs not (for so much as will make you think your testerne well bestowd)"—"your testerne," sixpence: the price paid for the little quarto book so prefaced was over £114 in 1864—"but for so much worth as euen poor I know to be stuft in it. It deserues such a labour, as well as the best Commedy in Terence or Plautus. And beleeue this, that when hee is gone and his Commedies out of sale, you will scramble for them, and set up a new Inquisition Take this for a warning, and at the perrill of your pleasures losse, and Iudgements, refuse not, nor like this the lesse, for not being sullied with the smoaky breath of the multitude; but thanke fortune for the scape it hath made amongst you. Since by the grand possessors wills I beleeue you should have prayd for them rather than been prayd. And so I leaue all such to bee prayd (for the states of their wits healths) that will not praise it. Vale."

Surely this went with the publication of the yet unacted play, and Shakespeare's "Troilus and Cressida"—based probably upon a lost play by another hand—was first acted in 1609. It is a noticeable fact that "Troilus and Cressida" does not appear in the first folio (1623) of Shakespeare's plays in the list given at the beginning, of Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies contained in it, but is inserted between the Histories and Tragedies without consecutive pagination or correspondence of printer's signatures with those which follow.

Not only have we lost a play of "Troilus and Cressida" that was entered for publication by James Robertes on the 7th of February, 1603. There is lost also a play on the same subject by Thomas Dekker and Henry Chettle, produced in 1599, which is shown by an interlineation in Henslowe's Diary to have been written as "Troilus and Cressida," but produced as "The Tragedie of Agamemnon." The subject had been started at the close of the twelfth century, and in the fourteenth century Boccaccio and Chaucer had given currency to it, through successive generations, as the most famous love story in Europe.

Shakespeare's "Troilus and Cressida" is founded upon Chaucer. The original of Chaucer's "Troilus and Cressida"* is *Il Filostrato*, a poem in ten books, written in 1347-8, when its author, Boccaccio, was thirty-four years old. He was then at the Court of Queen Giovanna, at Naples, honouring in his verse a beautiful Maria of the house of Aquino, whom he called Fiammetta. Queen Giovanna cherished men of letters. She revived in force all literary love fashions, including the old Courts of Love.

At the Court over which Maria Fiammetta presided there was argument one day of a lover, Which he had best have, if he might have one only of three wishes: sometimes

* "E.W." v. 187–216.

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to see his lady; sometimes to discourse of her; or to think softly of her within himself? Each side had advocates. Boccaccio argued that the lover's chief pleasure would be in thinking of his mistress. But when, presently, Fiammetta left Naples while he was obliged to stay, he desired so much sometimes to see his lady that he questioned the truth of his judgment, and produced a poem in her absence—this story of "Troilus and Cressida," under the name of *Il Filostrato*—his second epic romance, with an appended letter that grieved at Fiammetta's parting. This became the love story of the Italians. Chaucer expanded it, in his translation, with matter designed to make it wholesome for English youth. He added about 2,900 lines to the 5,350 of the Italian poem. Pandarus in Boccaccio was a brave young Trojan of high lineage, a cousin of Troilus, who came to help him in dishonest love; and there is in Boccaccio no hint of dishonour in his occupation. It was Chaucer first, and Shakespeare after him, who turned the very name of Pandar to a word of shame. Chaucer first, and Shakespeare after him, put away all suggestion of the generosity of youth and manly dignity that Boccaccio had associated with Pandarus, and turned him into Cressida's garrulous uncle, humorous, lachrymose, tricky, worldly-wise according to the wisdom of the base; the sentimental comradeship with Troilus being an oddity which we may refer, if we please, to the fact that Troilus was a king's son, who might have any form of parasite. Cressida's father, Calchas, having gone to the Greeks, her uncle Pandarus is her guardian, who uses his influence for her betrayal. Boccaccio's Cressida is from the first apt for a fall; assurance of secrecy is all her honour needs. Chaucer's Cressida retains a nobler life as long as possible. Chaucer's pleasure was in making pictures of true womanhood. She is betrayed by artifice, and grows, after her fall, into the type of faithlessness. Of Chaucer's Cressida it might be said that,

while his whole treatment of the story is rich in dramatic power, the woman of the beginning of his poem could not in actual life become the woman of its end. Shakespeare's Cressida follows Chaucer's, but is saved from question of that kind by skilful touches. Shakespeare's Pandarus is not more dramatic in conception than Chaucer's. In each poet the contempt is the same; but Shakespeare's Pandarus is more grossly contemptible; the comedy is broad, though well within the bounds of nature. The Pandarus of Chaucer, the inventor whom here Shakespeare follows, was drawn with subtler lines. He represented in Chaucer the tempter of youth with a skill like that which Shakespeare spent upon his Falstaff. But Shakespeare could not have seconded Chaucer better than he does, in his desire to send down through all time the name of Pandar as a word of scorn.

Chaucer's additions to the story of Cressida in the Greek camp, and her dialogue with Diomedes and with her father, indicate his reading in the first romance which contained the tale of "Troilus and Cressida," the "Geste de Troie;" but throughout the poem the essential changes are of his own making, and directly illustrative of those qualities which we have found thus far, and shall find to the end, characteristic of the English people.

The germ of the story of "Troilus and Cressida," which grew into the large tale of "Il Filostrato," Boccaccio found in the "Geste de Troie" of Benoît de Sainte-Maure, who chiefly based his romance of the siege of Troy upon the narratives ascribed to Dares and Dictys. This origin, with our old myth of the descent of Britons from Brut, the great-grandson of Æneas, accounts for the fact that in Shakespeare's play the one hero is Hector the Trojan, and the Greeks are treated with scant courtesy. Of Brut, according to the legend which was made current by Geoffrey of Monmouth about the year 1147, it had been predicted that he

would kill both father and mother. His mother died in giving birth to him. His father he killed by a chance arrow. Then, leaving Italy, he found his way to the descendants of the Trojans in captivity, led them out of bondage to the Greeks, and was directed by Diana to this island Albion, where he became founder of the British race named after him, and first built London as New Troy or Troynovant. Our literature, therefore, should be Trojan. Homer? Why, he knew nothing of the siege of Troy. He was not there; he was a partisan, too, of the Greeks. Dares, to whom a Phrygian Iliad was ascribed as early as the year 230, an account said to have been written before Homer's, was a Trojan priest of Vulcan, who warned Hector not to kill Patroclus, and was himself killed by Ulysses. His book existed only in a Latin version, said to have been made by Cornelius Nepos from the Greek autograph found at Athens. This prose history of the fall of Troy was usually associated with the six books on the history of the Trojan war ascribed to Dictys of Gnossus, the companion of Idomeneus. His narrative, said to have been written at the request of Idomeneus, on tablets of bark, in Phœnician characters, was further said to have been buried with its author in a leaden box, and disclosed by an earthquake in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero. Nero caused the work to be translated into Greek, and from that Greek the Latin version was said to have been made by one Q. Septimius Romanus. In and long after the time of Henry II., Dictys and Dares were regarded as the chief original authorities for the story of the siege of Troy.*

In the closing years also of the reign of Henry II., Joseph of Exeter wrote a Latin poem, in six books, *De Bello Trojano*. It was at the time when Benoît de Sainte-Maure first wove the tale of Troy into a French romance, which appeared between the years 1175 and 1185, and

* "E. W." vi. 118, 119.

worked into it the love-story of "Cressida."* The *Geste de Troie* was the chief source of the Latin prose *Historia Trojana*, by Guido de Colonna, which was finished in 1287. Then came, in the next century, the poems of Boccaccio and Chaucer, which made the Troy story only a background to "Troilus and Cressida." After this followed, in the fifteenth century, Lydgate's "Troy Book;" and in 1471 Caxton's "Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye," with many other pieces. Lydgate's work was first printed by Pynson in 1513, as "The History, Sege, and Destruccyon of Troye." In the sixteenth century, with the expansion of our literature, Troy furnished the theme of many a tale, or play, or poem; while as for Hector of Troy, was he not one of the "Nine Worthies"? Thomas Heywood wrote a poem on "The Life and Death of Hector, One and the First of the most Puissant, Valiant, and Renowned Monarchs of the World called the Nyne Worthies."

"*Troilus and Cressida.*"

In Shakespeare's treatment of the story, the old conflicts of the Greeks are translated, as they had been in all current versions of the tale of Troy, into the forms of mediæval chivalry; but the heroic stir of arms is made to fill the mind with images of action based upon the weaknesses of men. The weakness of Troilus, a youth next in courage to his brother Hector, is associated in the first scene with the meanness of Pandarus. The next scene, still with Pandarus in view, associates the weakness of Cressida with a procession of heroes. The third scene, in the Grecian camp, shows heroes tainted by weak jealousies of one another, and the whole cause that brings them to the field—Helen, who is what Cressida will be, a worthless woman. The First Act ends with Hector's challenge, after knightly fashion, to whatever Greek will maintain against him the worth of the woman he loves; and out of this challenge Ulysses hopes to draw the opportunity of playing off one sullen hero against another to bring both into action.

In the Second Act Thersites, who has fed the spite of Ajax, feeds his own upon his patron, is beaten, and transfers his services as feeder of spite to Achilles. Then Hector of Troy declares, in council of war

* "E. W." vi. 119, 120.

at the Court of his father Priam, the unwisdom of the quarrel. He reasons in vain with his brothers Paris and Troilus, who have replied to his arguments

> " not much
> Unlike young men, whom Aristotle thought
> Unfit to hear moral philosophy."

No matter if Aristotle did not live before the siege of Troy. Hector, of hero's temper and unequalled prowess in the field, can use reason as well as force. To his brother he says,

> " The reasons you allege do more conduce
> To the hot passion of distempered blood,
> Than to make up a free determination
> 'Twixt right and wrong; for pleasure and revenge
> Have ears more deaf than adders to the voice
> Of any true decision."

Hector warns wisely that Helen is not worth the lives she has cost. The strife about her is about ignoble pleasure, and seeks empty revenge. But if there shall be war, he is a warrior prompt for action. The next scene contrasts with Hector, Achilles to whom Thersites has transferred his single talent of regarding other men as fools. Achilles, for an idle love towards Polixena in Troy, will not attack Trojans. In idle pride he contemns Agamemnon and his fellow-chiefs not less than the blockish large-limbed Ajax, who bays at him, and who is fooled through his own vanity by Ulysses. Ulysses here also plays the weakness of one hero against the weakness of another, to bring both into action.

The Third Act opens again with the frailty of a love that is not love, in the scene of Pandarus with Paris and Helen. Unfaithful Helen as a theme of war accords well with the tale of Cressida, whose frailty is the theme of the next scene. Then follows in the Greek camp the desire of Calchas to have Cressida demanded in exchange for the Trojan Antenor; of which exchange is to come the story of her fickleness in passing what she calls her love from Troilus to Diomedes. There is more stirring of envy in Achilles to rouse him to action, for to-morrow Ajax will be the Greek who meets Hector in answer to his challenge. Thersites mocks to please the hero, who has his mind troubled like a fountain stirred, and of whom Thersites holds that he himself would rather be a tick in a sheep than such a valiant ignorance.

In the Fourth Act Troilus parts from Cressida, and Diomedes

conducts her to her father. Among the Greek chiefs she takes kindly to their courteous kisses of welcome, but the wise Ulysses turns away with a fie on her:—

> "There's language in her eye, her cheek, her lip,
> Nay, her foot speaks; her wanton spirits look out
> At every joint and motive of her body."

Hector contends with Ajax, but they are cousins in blood, and "the issue is embracement." Hector is noble. Nestor honours him as one who spares men in the field:

> "I have, thou gallant Trojan, seen thee oft,
> Labouring for destiny, make cruel way
> Through ranks of Greekish youth; and I have seen thee,
> As hot as Perseus, spur thy Phrygian steed,
> Despising many forfeits and subduements,
> When thou hast hung thy advanced sword i' th' air,
> Not letting it decline on the declined;
> That I have said unto my standers-by,
> 'Lo, Jupiter is yonder, dealing life.'"

Hector is feasted in the Fifth Act as a generous foe in the Greek camp, where Troilus is witness to the perfidy of Cressida; and as they return to Troy the comment of the railing Thersites is "Lechery, lechery; still, wars and lechery; nothing else holds fashion." In Troy Andromache dissuades, Cassandra prophesies, while Hector prepares for his last sally. The passionate Troilus censures Hector for his too gentle spirit in the field:

> "*Troilus.* Brother, you have a vice of mercy in you,
> Which better fits a lion than a man.
> *Hector.* What vice is that, good Troilus? chide me for it.
> *Troilus.* When many times the captive Grecians fall
> Even in the fan and wind of your fair sword,
> You bid them rise and live.
> *Hector.* Oh, 't is fair play.
> *Troilus.* Fool's play, by Heaven, Hector."

And in the closing battle, Hector, finding Achilles without his arms, refuses to strike at him; Achilles, in return, plots the assassination of Hector, and, catching him when he has put his arms aside, causes him to be surrounded and murdered by his myrmidons. Then Achilles

takes the glory of the vanquishing of Hector, and barbarously drags his body through the field.

Surely here is throughout a weighing of false glory and false love, the weaknesses of men against the weaknesses of women. Only Hector, drawn into the war by all the world about him against the faithful counsel of a better way, stands in the midst of this world's confusion between right and wrong—true husband to true wife, the pattern of a noble soldier in the wars of vanity and lust. They are such wars as yield Thersites too much matter for his scorn, wars common still upon this earth, where, as Milton, only born about the time when Shakespeare was producing "Troilus and Cressida," wrote afterwards,

> "Glory is false glory, attributed
> To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.
> They err who count it glorious to subdue
> By conquest far and wide, to overrun
> Large countries, and in field great battles win,
> Great cities by assault. What do these worthies
> But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave
> Peaceable nations, neighbouring or remote,
> Made captive, yet deserving freedom more
> Than those their conquerors, who leave behind
> Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,
> And all the flourishing works of peace destroy;
> Then swell with pride, and must be titled gods,
> Great Benefactors of Mankind, Deliverers,
> Worshipped with temple, priest, and sacrifice?
> One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other,
> Till conqueror Death discover them scarce men,
> Rolling in brutish vices and deformed,
> Violent or shameful death their due reward.
> But if there be in glory aught of good,
> It may by means far different be attained,
> Without ambition, war, or violence—
> By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
> By patience, temperance."

In that spirit Shakespeare has associated with false glories of the siege of Troy the false loves of Helen and of Cressida, putting his touch of poet's irony into the tradition of old deeds of arms.

"Timon of Athens" was first printed in the folio of 1623, and it is usually regarded as one of Shakespeare's later works, written about the year 1610. Plutarch, in his "Life of Antony," tells that Antony, after the battle of Actium, lived for a while alone on the sea-shore, resolving to imitate Timon. Upon that hint Plutarch introduced into the life of Antony a short account of Timon; it has been thought that this may have caught Shakespeare's attention when he drew from the life of Antony in Plutarch, so that "Timon of Athens" was taken for the subject of a later play than "Antony and Cleopatra." There is also one anecdote of Timon in Plutarch's "Life of Alcibiades." "Timon of Athens."

But Timon the Misanthrope was a well-known theme for story-tellers in the time of Shakespeare. The twenty-eighth novel in the first volume of Painter's "Palace of Pleasure"—taken from Plutarch's "Life of Antony"—was "Of the straunge and beastlie nature of Timon of Athens, enemie to mankinde, with his death, buriall, and epitaphe." In an old play called "Jack Drum's Entertainment, or Pasquil and Katherine," printed in 1601, is the line "Come, I'll be as sociable as Timon of Athens;" and there is ascribed to about the same date an academic comedy on Timon which was extant only in MS. until it came into possession of Mr. Dyce, and was given by him to be printed for the original Shakespeare Society in 1842. As that old play contains an allusion to Ben Jonson's "Every Man out of his Humour," its date cannot be earlier than 1599. Shakespeare's play resembles it only in having a steward Flavius (in the old play Laches) who

seeks to restrain his master in the days of lavish waste, and holds by him when all is lost.

In the banquet wherewith Timon mocks his parasites, the old comedy directs a service of stones painted like artichokes, where Shakespeare has served dishes of lukewarm water. In the close of that scene, as Shakespeare gives it, the stones appear—

> "Lord Timon's mad!
> —I feel 't upon my bones.
> One day he gives us diamonds, next day stones"—

and it has been thought that this was due to the influence of the old academic comedy. But the reader of these two plays will find it difficult to suppose that one owes anything to the other. The stone-throwing—without the banquet—is in Lucian's dialogue of "Timon, the Manhater," which ends with Timon pelting stones against the citizens drawn to him by tidings of his newly regained wealth.

It was Lucian who first brought into the tale Timon's discovery of treasure, and Lucian's treatment of the subject was the best to be found in literature before Shakespeare. Lucian opens with cry of Timon rising to Jove, accusing him of neglect to punish crimes against hospitality, friendship, society, and asking for himself, "Why dost thou let these ungrateful persons go without punishment who have abandoned me after they had devoured my whole estate, and who regard me not at all in my misery, whereas in prosperity they adored me? . . . Now, therefore, being deprived of all blessings, and oppressed with all manner of calamities, I am forced here to philosophise with a spade and a mattock." Jove hears the cry, thinks Timon should have help from the gods, and sends Mercury for Plutus, who makes the particular objection that when Jove sends him again to Timon it is as if Jove sent him to pour water into a sieve. Mercury and Plutus descend with

ironical talk of the relations of the God of Wealth to human affairs. They find, about Timon and his mattock, Poverty with his companions Strength, Health, Wisdom, and Virtue. Poverty departs, yielding Timon up with sound body and mind, wise, laborious, vigilant, contemning luxury and vanity. Plutus fills the earth under Timon's spade with treasure of gold. The old self-seeking flatterers, hearing of this, come one by one to renew their false friendship; as each comes near enough, Timon replies with the mattock on his head or shoulders. At last, when troops of men seem to be following them out of the city, Timon mounts a hill to pelt them back again with stones.

Shakespeare's treatment of this old parable against fair-weather friends is not shaped in the spirit of a misanthrope. Sir Thomas North translated Plutarch as saying in the life of Antony that "because of the unthankfulness of those he had done good unto, and whom he took to be his friends, Timon was angry with all men, and would trust no man." The novel in "the Palace of Pleasure" gives no reason at all for Timon's misanthropy. He is no more than a misanthrope of "beastlie nature." This is Lucian's description of Timon:—"To speak the truth, his probity, humanity, and charity to the poor, have been the ruin of him; or rather, in fact, his own folly, easiness of disposition, and want of judgment in his choice of friends; he never discovered that he was giving away his all to wolves and ravens. Whilst these vultures were preying upon his liver, he thought them his best friends, and that they fed upon him out of pure love and affection. After they had gnawed him all round, eaten his bones bare, and, if there was any marrow in them, sucked it carefully out, they left him, cut down to the roots and withered." Or as Shakespeare's Timon himself says in the third scene of the Fourth Act,

"Numberless upon me stuck, as leaves
Do on the oak, have with one winter's brush
Fell from their boughs, and left me open, bare
For every storm that blows."

Augustine Skottowe, in 1824, first pointed out, in the same scene, other apparent parallels with Lucian. In Lucian, when Timon strikes upon the treasure in the earth, he says, "It is, it must be, gold—fine yellow noble gold, heavy, and sweet to behold." So Timon,

"What is here?
Gold? yellow, glittering, precious gold!"

In Lucian he says of the gold so found, "Burning like fire, thou shinest day and night: come to me, thou dear, delightful treasure: now do I believe that Jove himself was once turned into gold: what virgin would not spread forth her bosom to receive so beautiful a lover?" So Timon in Shakespeare,

"Thou bright defiler
Of Hymen's purest bed! thou valiant Mars!
Thou ever young, fresh, loved, and delicate wooer,
Whose blush doth thaw the consecrated snow
That lies in Dian's lap!"

Lucian's Timon, when he resolves, despising and avoiding man, to shut himself up with his gold alone in a tower which shall be his habitation and his sepulchre, says, "I will pay no regard to acquaintance, friendship, pity, or compassion: to pity the distressed or to relieve the indigent, I shall consider as a weakness, nay, as a crime; my life, like the beasts of the field"—hence the phrase in Painter's title to his tale, of Timon's "beastlie misanthropy"—"shall be spent in solitude, and Timon alone shall be Timon's friend. I will treat all beside as enemies and betrayers; to converse with them were profanation; to herd with them, impiety: accursed be the day that brings

them to my sight." Compare this with Timon's admonition to his faithful steward when he makes him rich at the end of the Fourth Act.

Shakespeare thus divides the play into its Five Acts:—(1) Timon's excess of trust and want of measure in the full flow of his lavish liberality. (2) Timon's debts, and his trust in friendship of the flatterers "feast-won, fast lost." (3) The answers Timon gets from his false friends. Ingratitude also of the Senate to Alcibiades. Alcibiades turns against Athens in action, Timon in passion. Timon, at a mock banquet, pours scorn on his trencher friends. (4) Timon's want of measure in reaction from one form of excess to its opposite. The fidelity and love of those who have been of his household. Timon abhors man, and will live upon roots in the wilderness. In seeking roots, he digs gold and scatters it as a curse, scorning alike Alcibiades and Apemantus. When he gives gold as a blessing to the faithful steward, it is with a curse on all men else. And (5) Timon dies unreconciled to man. Alcibiades, become master of the destinies of Athens, yields to the pleading of the Senate, listens to reason, and foregoes revenge.

A play so planned condemns misanthropy. A generous man wanting the restraint of reason is passionate in excess. He gives largely for good ends—to free this man from prison, to crown love by furnishing the dowry that will buy its crown; gives also largely for less good ends by overpayment in gifts to return gifts, by acceptance of all shows of friendship with a prompt

> "Give me your hand;
> We must needs dine together."

Timon's feasts are not feasts of reason, and are followed by outpourings of jewels upon his table companions. His elation is without control—"to counsel deaf, but not to flattery"—and his dejection is as absolute; there is no middle

state. True life is happy in the golden mean. The disease of a rich nature in Timon is of nobler strain than the inbred churlishness of Apemantus, who sees only the low things of life, and thinks it philosophy to see no more; called Cynic from the dog, in days, perhaps, when dogs had not yet grown to be the friends of man, or were too little known in their true character. Apemantus has an eye only for faults, and he can define sharply the fault of Timon: "The middle of humanity thou never knewest, but the extremity of both ends."

Alcibiades, whose story of resentment of ingratitude is interwoven with that of his friend Timon, is an able man of action and a soldier of hot blood, with friendly temper. His resentment is by action on the world outside himself, and not by torture of the mind within. He marches with his mistresses, whose greed of gold is like that of the rest. But for Timon's want of Temperance, Alcibiades is of a lower nature; yet, being more practical, he achieves the better end. So Fortinbras, mere man of action, is below Hamlet; but for want of Resolution Hamlet passes away and Fortinbras is king. Thus Alcibiades, who takes the world but as the world, has power in the close of Timon's story. He is placable, and listens to the plea,

> "We were not all unkind, nor all deserve
> The common stroke of war."

"We were not all unkind;" so much the steward Flavius and all the servants of his household might have shown to Timon. The good Flavius defined his master's error not with the bitterness of Apemantus, but in words of affection,

> "Never mind
> Was surely so unwise, to be so kind."

In the second scene of the Fourth Act we have kindly fellowship of the servants in Timon's deserted house,

"All broken implements of a ruined house.
Yet do our hearts wear Timon's livery."

"Wherever we shall meet, for Timon's sake,
Let's yet be fellows."

They have lived under Timon's roof to become humble friends while he was feasting flatterers, and, says Flavius,

"Who'd be so mocked with glory as to live
But in a dream of friendship?"

There is more friendship born in six hours of a common home companionship than in sixty sittings at state banquets. Much, but not everything, goes wrong with men. Let us keep our even way like Alcibiades, faulty enough ourselves when at the best; with short-lived anger at the wrongs we suffer, prompt to withdraw our hands from full revenge, although it be within our grasp. We must learn, as the last words of the play suggest—they are the words of Alcibiades—to use

"the olive with the sword:
Make war breed peace; make peace stint war; make each
Prescribe to other, as each other's leech."

Shakespeare's "Coriolanus" was first printed in the folio of 1623, and is usually regarded as one of his latest plays. Edmond Malone ascribed it conjecturally to the year 1610. There is no evidence of a preceding play on the same subject by any other dramatist; and as "Coriolanus" was entered at Stationers' Hall on the eighth of November, 1613, to Isaac Jaggard and Edward Blount, printers of the first folio, as one of the copies that had not previously been "entered to other men," we know for certain that there had been no issue of this play in quarto. Shakespeare drew the story from no other source than Plutarch's Life of Coriolanus in Sir Thomas North's translation.

"Coriolanus."

The shaping of the play is so contrived as to set forth most vividly the strength of our home ties. The bowing of the spirit of a proud, unconquerable warrior, compelled by the strongest of all human passions, the love of wife, mother, and child, was the essential part of the old story. Shakespeare, who looked always for the soul of his play in that one of the elements of life which was especially concerned in its main action, made Coriolanus, like King Lear, an image of the transcendent power of those ties of nature by which God binds us together. In "Lear" the ties are broken: that way madness lies. In "Coriolanus" the ties hold: they are stronger than the strong man in his wrath, stronger than death. The pride and power of the mighty man of war are not the foremost features of the tale. The more Coriolanus is represented as the proud patrician, the fierce warrior whom nothing daunts, the more clearly is shown the force of that love which is strongest of all, as wholesome to us and familiar as the air we breathe. Shakespeare's first introduction of this force allies it to the daily life in all our homes: "Enter Volumnia and Virgilia, mother and wife to Martius: They set them downe on two lowe stooles and sowe."

"*Coriolanus.*"

The First Act of the play opens with mutiny in Rome, and Caius Marcius regarded as chief enemy to the people. The voice of the Second Citizen represents a kindlier tone of consideration for his public service, but it is from the First Citizen, who loves him least, that there comes chance recognition of his home affection: "He pays himself with being proud; . . . what he hath done famously, he did it to that end: though soft-conscienced men can be content to say it was for his country, he did it to please his mother, and to be partly proud." After this opening sketch of the character of Coriolanus, as seen through the distance between him and the people, whom he scorns, Menenius Agrippa, who is known for a peacemaker, enters upon the scene, with the good word of the Second Citizen, to which even the First Citizen assents. In the folios the numbering of

the citizens, after the entrance of Menenius Agrippa, is reversed by an obvious error that was first corrected by Malone.

Menenius Agrippa represents in the life of Coriolanus the man loved beyond all who are not bound to him by the domestic tie. He is the old family friend, who takes, as nearly as friend can, a father's place; with pride in his son's successes, zeal to maintain his honour and prosperity, and joy in all signs of a love returned. Menenius Agrippa is, like Gonzalo in the "Tempest," a good old statesman, full of genial kindliness, who believes in his friend, his dinner, and his joke, and has a generous fidelity that gives him influence and wins him trust. But these two kindly elders are well distinguished from each other. Menenius had more vigour to lead in service of the state, and a nature more lively in utterance. Gonzalo could not in a moment of delight cry "Hoo!" and throw his cap into the air. Menenius is a patrician, with as much contempt of the populace as Coriolanus, but his contempt is mingled with the spirit of good-fellowship; he has no bitterness of scorn, but to citizens and tribunes speaks his ill opinion of them with so much whimsical playfulness that they do not hold him for an enemy, however free the plainness of his speech. There is good-humour even in his wrath, and when he is sent back with a cracked heart to Rome, the old gleams of a kindly fancy play like household fire upon the ruin that shuts in his life. Menenius, when he comes among the mutinous plebeians, addresses them at once as his countrymen, as his good friends, his honest neighbours, wins their attention with a shrewdly applied fable, and then comes down with all his weight upon the leading malcontent as the great toe of the assembly, yet with a good-humour that can win friendly attention to the plainest speaking. Then Caius Marcius enters, and, in a tone sharpened by contrast with the manner of Menenius, pours his contempt upon the people with the bitter scorn that turns their hearts against him. In doing so he carries on the tale by reporting to Menenius the concession made to the other troop of mutineers, who will have tribunes of their own choice "to defend their vulgar wisdoms." The excess of his proud scorn is strongly marked—

> "Would the nobility lay aside their ruth
> And let me use my sword, I'd make a quarry
> With thousands of these quartered slaves, as high
> As I could pick" (*i.e.*, pitch) "my lance."

Here "quarry" is not derived from the word *quadratus*, squared, which gives its name to the place whence stones are cut, or to the square bolt shot from a crossbow; but it is from the French, *cuir*, skin

—a term of the chase. When the game was run down and killed, there was a regular form of distribution of the parts. The beast was skinned, and upon its thick skin—*cuir*—the meaner entrails were heaped up as the share of the dogs, who were let loose upon it. This was called in French the *curée*—in English adaptation of the word to English mouths, the "quarry." It was a *curée chaude* when given on the spot; a *curée froide* when prepared with bread and given in the kennel. There is uttermost contempt, therefore, in the comparison of quartered plebeians to this food for the dogs, the meanest entrails of the deer. Heart, liver, and kidneys were the umbles of the deer, which, with the skin, head, chine, and shoulders, were given to the keeper and his men. The venison pasty was served at the daïs, the umble pie or humble pie at the servants' table, whence "eating humble pie" meant having taken a place at the servants' table. Caius Marcius did not look so high as the umbles for a parallel to the best flesh of the plebeians.

Let it be said here that the Coriolanus legend is ascribed to the year B.C. 490, about which time a temple is said to have been founded to "Fortuna Muliebris," Fortune of Women's Bringing. But there was a famine in the year B.C. 470, and there were terms like those of Coriolanus between Romans and Volscians, B.C. 458. In the demands for tribunes and for corn at the beginning of the play, Shakespeare unites the story of the secession to the Sacred Mount, provoked by the law of debts, with a later outbreak caused by the opposition of Coriolanus to the distribution of the contents of Sicilian corn-ships. In this way the poet gets a larger expression of the need of the great hungry mass—bread, and a voice to represent their claims on the attention of the rich. The action of the legend from which Shakespeare takes his play extends over six years. In the play all its events follow close on one another as parts of a single thought.

After the contempt poured by Caius Marcius upon the common people, follows at once, through senators who enter with the generals Cominius and Titus Lartius, the knowledge that the Volscians are in arms, and that there is old rivalry in war between Caius Marcius and Aufidius, the Volscian leader. Caius Marcius goes to the war under the command of Cominius, leaving the sting behind him of his insolent contempt, resented by the tribunes of the people.

The scene changes to Corioli, showing the plans of the Volscians; on the side of Aufidius, the rivalry between him and Marcius; and the resolve to give battle to the Romans in the open field while also defending the city against siege.

Now follows the scene with the women in the home of Marcius. Enter Volumnia and Virgilia. They sit down on two low stools

and sew. Volumnia is the high-hearted Roman mother, Virgilia the tender-hearted Roman wife. The thoughts of both are on their absent warrior, the mother glorying in his glory, the wife overwrought with cares about his safety. The talk is home talk. The lady Valeria enters as a friend and gossip; talk is of the child, of needlework, of visiting. Volumnia goes with Valeria to pay visits, but Virgilia is anxious and cannot go abroad. It would need little change to translate all into a home scene of this year among the ladies in the drawing-room. And simple and quiet as it all looks, here, in the heart of home, the power lies that saves a state, and is to that end stronger than armies or the shrewdest schemes of politicians.

Again Shakespeare uses the effect of contrast, by passing from this picture of the women in the home to the most vivid painting of the men upon the field of battle. Marcius, in the attack upon Corioli, is shown, after battling single-handed within the gates suddenly closed on him, re-entering covered with blood, and, after the taking of Corioli, eager to rush at once into the other battle which is being fought, not far off, in the open field. Without rest, his brow covered with blood, he hurries to the fight in which Cominius, engaged with Aufidius, has withdrawn his force for rest. His eager question is: "Am I too late?" He leads chosen followers against Aufidius himself, and is victor in two battles, before, wounded and covered with the blood of enemies, he thinks of rest. Among these incidents the rivalry between Caius Marcius and Aufidius is shown with a fresh emphasis, and the nobler side of the proud spirit of Marcius appears in his impatience of the praise and the rewards that precede the conferring on him of the name of Coriolanus for what he did before Corioli. His generosity of nature also is associated with the incident that shows him at last faint from the long toil and loss of blood. And still the more the poet magnifies the warrior's might, the more he magnifies God's gift of kindred love that is stronger than it all—the power of the women, who are no sword-bearers, but sit on their low stools and sew.

After this has been shown, the First Act ends with a scene in the camp of the Volscians, which points straight to the last scene of the play. In the rivalry between Coriolanus and Tullus Aufidius, we find Aufidius declaring that his

> "emulation
> Hath not the honour in 't, it had; for where
> I thought to crush him in an equal force,
> True sword to sword, I'll potch at him some way;
> Or wrath or craft may get him."

We learn at the close of the First Act the temper of the rival at whose hearth Coriolanus will stand in the fifth scene of the Fourth Act, and by whose friends and with whose assent Coriolanus will be assassinated in the last scene of the play. At the close of the First Act, Aufidius says—

> "Nor sleep, nor sanctuary,
> Being naked, sick; nor fane, nor Capitol,
> The prayers of priests, nor times of sacrifice,
> Embarquements all of fury, shall lift up
> Their rotten privilege and custom 'gainst
> My hate to Marcius. Where I find him, were it
> At home, upon my brother's guard, even there,
> Against the hospitable canon, would I
> Wash my fierce hand in 's heart."

In this way Shakespeare's plays, as those of any good dramatist needs must, abound in artistic foreshadowings and preparations for events to come.

The Second Act tells of the return of Coriolanus to Rome, and his election to the Consulship by voice of the Senate; by the voices also of the people, so contemptuously sought that, although given, yet with incitement from the tribunes, they are, at the close of the act, on the point of being revoked by the unstable crowd. In this act also, in the midst of the picturing of the proud spirit of Coriolanus, Shakespeare gives a central place to the ties of home. Volumnia is abroad, proud of his new achievements, to receive her son; impatient to meet him, as she tells her tidings of his triumph. "Good ladies, let's go.—Yes, yes, yes, the senate has letters from the general, wherein he gives my son the whole name of the war." Virgilia is with Volumnia, and she is silent, anxious still with dread of hurt to him she loves; and when Coriolanus enters, after short putting aside of the praise showered on him, all his care is for his mother and his wife, who meet him. Giving a hand to each, it is between his wife and mother that he goes forward to the Capitol.

In the Third Act he and the tribunes who direct the people come into conflict, and this act ends with his banishment. When his stubborn spirit is shown in action, and the kindly old Menenius labours in all ways to pour oil over the stormy waters, and seeks to persuade Coriolanus to bear himself mildly, the influence of the mother over the son is made the foremost feature of the scene. Preparing for what is to follow, the Act opens with note of the Volsces again making head. Coriolanus, in his high-handed dealing with the people, misses his mother's approbation,

"I muse my mother
Does not approve me farther."

The fierce warrior bears his mother's rebuke as if he were a child still at her knee. His spirit of scorn breaks out while he is trying to obey his mother. "Pray be content," he had said to her,

"Mother, I'm going to the market-place;
Chide me no more."

"I banish you," was his proud answer to the sentence of the people as he turned his back on Rome.

The Fourth Act shows Coriolanus followed out of Rome's gates by his old friend Menenius, his old general Cominius, and his wife and mother; the Volscians ready for a new attack. Then Coriolanus, seeking vengeance by alliance with the enemies of Rome, stands at the hearth of Tullus Aufidius, his enemy as well as Rome's. That Aufidius received him cordially was due to two causes. The deep underlying sense of a great gain to be won, by the aid of Coriolanus himself as an ally in war against the Romans, would make such alliance welcome to the Volscian state; and a mere surface sense of the bold trust in his own generosity that prompted his enemy to put himself thus in his power, would stir for a time in Aufidius an answering emotion, altogether real and for the moment strong, though with no deep roots from which it could draw long continuance of life. It was planted rather in the soil of an old hatred which had lost all generosity of emulation, and in which the new emotion, however natural and honest, could not be sustained. The haughty spirit of Coriolanus would also make it difficult for any hatred in a rival's mind to remain long asleep. In the Fourth Act, while there is pale fear in Rome, the alliance of Coriolanus with the Volscians is established; but the last words express the danger from Aufidius, who says—

"When, Caius, Rome is thine,
Thou'rt poor'st of all; then shortly thou art mine."

In the Fifth Act Coriolanus has Rome at his feet. His old general, Cominius, has pleaded to him in vain. His old family friend, Menenius, persuaded to try his skill, and with a shrewd intention, after his own mind, of speaking to him when he has dined, is struck to the heart with a cold "Away!" followed by the declaration, "Wife, mother, child, I know not."

But when wife, mother, and child come, it is in vain that he cries,

> " Out, affection !
> All bond and privilege of nature break !
> Let it be virtuous to be obstinate."

Coriolanus melts to tenderness at his wife's gentle reverence—

> " What is that curt'sy worth ? or those dove's eyes
> Which can make gods forsworn ? I melt, and am not
> Of stronger earth than others.—My mother bows,
> As if Olympus to a molehill should
> In supplication nod ; and my young boy
> Hath an aspect of intercession, which
> Great Nature cries, ' Deny not.'—Let the Volsces
> Plough Rome and harrow Italy ; I'll never
> Be such a gosling to obey instinct, *but stand*
> *As if a man were author of himself,*
> *And knew no other kin.*"

But that is exactly what the play shows that a man cannot do. Thank God, these home-ties, of the love of His own shaping for the help of man, are stronger than all evil passions, all brute forces of the world. Coriolanus yields to them, and in so doing shows them to be stronger than death : for he knows well that by his yielding he puts his life in the hands of his enemy. He cries,

> " O mother, mother !
> What have you done ? Behold, the heavens do ope,
> The gods look down, and this unnatural scene
> They laugh at.—Oh, my mother, mother ! Oh,
> You have won a happy victory to Rome ;
> But for your son,—believe it, oh, believe it,—
> Most dangerously you have with him prevailed,
> If not most mortal to him. But let it come."

And he goes back, as by a soldier's honour he feels that he must, with Aufidius, to be murdered in Corioli, while Rome exults in her deliverance.

CHAPTER VII.

"A WINTER'S TALE" AND "CYMBELINE."

ROBERT GREENE published in 1588 a novel called "Pandosto; or, the Triumph of Time."* It has been said that it was founded on a story of the treatment of his wife by a Duke Masovius Zemovitus, of which there is an account by Tcharikovski, Archbishop of Gnesen, in the second volume of Sommersberg's "Rerum Silesiarum Scriptores." It has been suggested also that some Latin version of that story may have been seen by Lope de Vega as well as by Robert Greene, and that thus points of resemblance between Greene's "Pandosto" and Lope de Vega's *El Marmol de Felisardo* may have arisen. However that may be, Shakespeare's "Winter's Tale" was founded only upon Greene's novel of "Pandosto," which (after Greene's death in 1592) was reprinted in 1607 and 1609, both years being probably before that in which Shakespeare wrote the play. The popularity of Greene's story continued to the end of the seventeenth century. It was again reprinted in 1614, translated into French in 1615, again reprinted in English in 1619, and in 1629, and in 1632, and in 1636. Then it appeared as "The Pleasant History of Dorastus and Fawnia" in seven more editions before the end of the century, and yet again at the

"The Winter's Tale."

* "E. W." ix. 268.

beginning of Queen's Anne's reign, in 1703, making the sixteenth edition; and it was again printed as a chap-book in 1735. No other novel of Greene's remained so long in demand, or has been so frequently reprinted. Next in popularity was the next novel written by Greene in euphuistic style, "Ciceronis Amor: Tullies Love," first published in 1589, which went through nine editions, the last being in 1639. The demand for it then came to an end, and it was never again printed for the public at large, because it had been read rather for its euphuism than for any story in it. "Pandosto" alone lived on, by virtue of a story which was good enough to have caught Shakespeare's fancy, and which acquired, of course, for some readers a new interest from that fact.

Shakespeare's play of the "Winter's Tale" was first printed in the folio of 1623. Dr. Simon Forman records in his diary, of which the MS. is in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, that he saw the "Winter's Tale" acted at the Globe Theatre on Wednesday, the 15th of May, 1611.

"Observe there how Leontes, King of Sicilia, was overcome with jealousy of his wife with the King of Bohemia, his friend that came to see him, and how he contrived his death, and would have had his cup-bearer to have poisoned him, who gave the King of Bohemia warning thereof, and fled with him to Bohemia. Remember also how he sent to the oracle of Apollo, and the answer of Apollo that she was guiltless, and that the king was jealous, etc., and how, except the child was found again that was lost, the king should die without issue; for the child was carried to Bohemia, and there laid in a forest, and brought up by a shepherd; and the King of Bohemia's son married that wench, and how they fled into Sicilia to Leontes; and the shepherd having showed the letter of the nobleman whom Leontes sent, it was that child, and the jewels found about her, she was known to be Leontes' daughter, and was then sixteen years old. Remember also the rogue that came in all tattered, like Coll Pipci, and how he feigned him sick, and to have been robbed of all he had; and how he cozened the poor man of all his money, and after

came to the sheep-shear with a pedlar's pack, and there cozened them again of all their money. And how he changed apparel with the King of Bohemia's son, and then how he turned courtier, etc. Beware of trusting feigned beggars or fawning fellows."

Remember, we may add, how this was an impression taken from the play as acted by Shakespeare's company in Shakespeare's time, and how Autolycus hit the vein of the day that delighted in small books upon the ingenuities of cozeners and cony-catchers.

In the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, under date the nineteenth of August, 1623, Edmond Malone found this entry: "For the King's Players. An old play called 'Winter's Tale,' formerly allowed of by Sir George Buck, and likewise by me on Mr. Hemmings his word that there was nothing profane added or reformed, though the allowed book was missing: and therefore I returned it without a fee this 19th of August, 1623." Sir George Buck, who is referred to as the first licenser, was appointed to his office in October, 1610. Although it has been argued by Chalmers that Sir George Buck obtained in 1603 a grant of the reversion of the office of Master of the Revels, and himself licensed many plays before 1610, there is ground for a strong opinion, though not for absolute belief, that the play was new when Dr. Simon Forman saw it at the Globe in May, 1611.

If we look now to Shakespeare's variations from Greene's novel, we find that the great change made is in the restoration to Leontes of his queen, together with his daughter. In Greene's novel both the queen and her son die after the decision of the oracle has, to the satisfaction of Pandosto, proved the queen's innocence. To change a real into a supposed death required invention of means of concealment, and this requirement was met by the creation of the character of Paulina. In the exposure of the new-born infant, Shakespeare avoided the sheer

impossibility of the survival of an infant, drenched and tossed alone in a boat on the sea without food or nursing, until it has been cast ashore in a storm upon a distant coast. It is the coast of Sicily, in Greene. Shakespeare, transposing the homes of the two royal friends, places Leontes in Sicily, not in Bohemia. Bohemia had belonged to the house of Austria since 1526, and it was easy to confound in romance its inland mountains with the mountain districts of Illyria, which as part of the kingdom of Hungary were also the Hapsburgs'. Greene could in the telling slip over an impossible survival of a new-born infant after a few weeks of total starvation and exposure to storm and salt water by night and day, even after it had been finally rolled up as a waif upon a stormy shore; but it would not bear the realisation that is of the essence of a play. Shakespeare gives, therefore, a husband to Paulina, Antigonus, who is of gentle heart, though he obeys the evil bidding of the king; and the infant is committed to the waves, surrounded by the tenderest care until the hour of its exposure upon a coast not found by chance, but chosen at the bidding of a dream. This done, the poet gets rid of the men who are no longer wanted in the story, and who would be in its way if they lived and returned to Sicily. He gives emphasis at the same time to the peril of the child by destroying the ship and its crew in a storm at sea, and giving Antigonus to a wild beast on land, "so that all the instruments which aided to expose the child were even then lost when it was found."

In the following scenes dramatic life could not have been put into the telling of the tale without addition of the shepherd's son. His wife, who is in Greene's tale, could not have been used for the purposes served by Shakespeare's invention of the clownish son and of the rogue Autolycus. Greene uses the shepherd's wife as means for bringing about the solution of the plot, and has the shepherd carried off by

force upon the ship of the offended king. Shakespeare removes several improbabilities, and gets rid of incidents that mar the grace of the tale, including Pandosto's animal love for his unrecognised daughter. His changes in the manner of bringing about the solution of the plot, as far as concerns Florizel and Perdita, are mainly produced by his invention of Autolycus, the merry rogue—a cashiered courtier—who sings his songs at the sheep-shearing, fleeces the rustics, and, half in hope to recover favour with the prince, sends the witnesses who can untie the knot of the tale on board the prince's ship to Sicily. It is enough then to suggest playfully that Florizel and Perdita were too full of their own affairs to ask many questions of other people, and that they were sea-sick as well as love-sick. The reader who follows attentively Shakespeare's use of Autolycus as a means of putting dramatic life into the solution of the plot without spoiling the pastoral grace and playfulness of that part of the story, will see that but for his trick in sending the bearer of the fardel to the Prince's ship instead of to the king, Perdita must have been identified before the persons of the story were about Leontes in the close.

Shakespeare's treatment of the story suggested rightly the last lines of a ballad-monger's version of it, printed in 1664: "By this we see that nothing can prevent the powers divine." In the midst of the play we hear the voice of Apollo. The lapse of years in the story shows what Greene's second title described as "the Triumph of Time," by the Divine guidance that turns all to good, however man may err.

The error that here breaks the harmony of life Shakespeare interprets, not as crime, but as an outbreak of insanity. The jealousy of Leontes is painted throughout as an insane delusion. It is a form of delusion very common. When the mind becomes touched with insanity, delusions

run along the line of any old, deep feeling—are about religion, or are about love, and sexual. A good man so afflicted, and all the more if his love to his wife has been strong and his marriage happy, may suddenly, in such disorder of the brain, be possessed with insane delusions that touch his wife, and spread to friends whom in his time of health he has most trusted. It is hard for any man to have lived long in a wide circle of kinsmen, friends, and acquaintance, and never to have seen Leontes. Beyond the bounds of one insane delusion, his mind is healthy enough for the daily work of life; though the disease, curable only at an early stage, may spread till other powers of thought are perverted. In Leontes Shakespeare paints so faithfully this form of madness that he, too, may perhaps have seen it. Love for a child born in the years of health, though pestered with crazy doubts, is not involved in the sexual delusions that create insane aversion to the wife. The mad certainty, based on no reason, impatient of contradiction, conjuring up insane suspicions; the restless, troubled mind, the sleeplessness that makes all worse, are in Leontes; and Shakespeare shows this outbreak of disease of mind to be acute and sudden. When of old standing it is not curable; if recent, cure is possible; and a sudden shock to the mind, in which the weight of the stroke falls straight on the growing delusion, may destroy it for a time. It may depend then upon after-treatment whether it will spring up again. Shakespeare follows nature when he destroys the delusion of Leontes by a great shock to his mind. In Greene's story Pandosto at once believes the oracle that clears his wife. In the "Winter's Tale" the madness of Leontes makes him sweep aside the answer of Apollo, as he swept aside the warnings and pleadings of his friends; but there comes the confirming stroke of his boy's death, the boy to whom his heart was bound, and his wife's death, as it seems, immediately follows. Then the delusion breaks.

It might return; most probably it would if Hermione were now restored to him. But in the after-treatment of the case Paulina is his good physician, keeping his mind fixed on his wife's worth, and checking every disposition to stray from a full sense of it, through fifteen years of watchfulness, while the queen waits fulfilment of the implied promise of the oracle. The end is, for Leontes and Hermione, unclouded evening of a troubled day; and from the mad act of the exposure of the child the merciful gods have shaped for them a happy issue. In our worst troubles, in the mad confusions of life, we may possess our souls in patience, and be sure that God is good to them that wait for Him. So Shakespeare interprets for us "the Triumph of Time."

It is from this point of view that Shakespeare gives to Hermione a quiet tenderness and a great patience. When the play opens, we have the old love shown in the first scene of Leontes with his wife and friend, and the first crack across it by the sudden outbreak of insanity, which had not yet disclosed itself, although it may have been at work within. Hermione speaks freely her love to Leontes—

> "Good deed, Leontes,
> I love thee not a jar o' the clock behind
> What lady should her lord."

When she is persuading Polixenes to stay, her speech to her husband's friend has her own love for her husband involved in it. When he and her husband were boys,

> "Was not my lord the verier wag of the two?"

There is sense here of a Leontes cheerful in his day of health, and to Hermione as yet no sign that health is gone. Leontes was not conceived by Shakespeare as a moody tyrant. When the madness comes, Shakespeare takes pains to show that, outside the bounds of his delusion, he is no tyrant. In our boyhood, says Polixenes of himself and his friend,

"We knew not
The doctrine of ill-doing, no, nor dreamed
That any did."

But the sick dream of Hermione's ill-doing now fills the mind of Leontes; the last words of breaking health are in the recalling of the hour in which she first opened her white hand and clapped herself his love—

"Then didst thou utter,
'I am yours for ever.'
Hermione. It is grace, indeed!
Why, lo you now, I have spoke to the purpose twice:
The one 'for ever' earned a royal husband;
The other, for some while, a friend."

Doubt of the "for ever" was in the reminding of the promise, for here the paroxysm of insanity begins; but certainty of the "for ever" is assured by course of time. Shakespeare not only represents a truth of life in the mingling of love for the child with sudden outbreak of a mad aversion for the mother ("I have *tremor cordis* on me; my heart dances"), but he has dramatic purpose in strong indication, both in this and in another scene, of the great affection of Leontes for the child, that we may know the force of the shock to him when tidings of the boy's death follow straight on his repudiation of the oracle. The mother, too, in urging the prolonged stay of Polixenes, admits that if love to his child draws him away he is bound to go.

There is wild madness in the outbreak against Camillo's pleading to Leontes to "be cured of this diseased opinion, and betimes; for 'tis most dangerous."—"Say it be; 'tis true."—"No, no, my lord."—"It is; you lie, you lie; I say thou liest, Camillo, and I hate thee." All that follows is the reasoning of the insane. And it is now first that Polixenes observes the changed countenance of his friend. He had come to Sicily by cordial invitation; had been

feasted royally; the old cheerful tone of his healthy life is in the opening dialogue of the play; though the coming crack within the mind is lightly indicated by brevity of speech in Leontes. But the first signs of disordered intellect are seen first by Hermione and Polixenes, when they are seen first by the spectator of the play.

There is exquisite suggestion of the gentle wife within a day or two of second motherhood in the scene of Hermione and her women at the opening of the Second Act, which closes with loving attention to the child's tale in her ear. "A sad Tale's best for Winter," says the child, as, with the entrance of Leontes, the sad tale begins, of which its own death, by stricken love, will be a part. With gentle affection Hermione meets the gross suggestions of the husband whom she loves:

> "There's some ill planet reigns;
> I must be patient, till the heavens look
> With an aspect more favourable.—Good my lords,
> I am not prone to weeping, as our sex
> Commonly are;"

and thenceforth all is patience to the end, with love ever abiding. Love, patience, purity, and faith in the powers above, shine through all words and acts of the afflicted queen. She embodies a main part of the conception of the play. In her answer to the charges made in open court, she speaks calm truth, beginning, as in Greene's tale, with the trust in powers above, and ending with appeal to Heaven:

> "I do refer me to the oracle;
> Apollo be my judge."

Then follows the long patience of years, while Paulina watches the mind of Leontes and retains it true to its old love, until fulfilment of the oracle and fulness of the time for which, in settled faith, Hermione is waiting. The grace of her unswerving tenderness and patience is

suggested when Leontes sees in Hermione her natural posture, and adds—

> "Or, rather thou art she
> In thy not chiding, for she was as tender
> As infancy and grace."

"Cymbeline" was first printed in the first folio of Shakespeare's plays, where it is the last play in the volume, and is divided into acts and scenes. It was Nicholas Rowe, the first editor of Shakespeare, who, in Queen Anne's time, first prefixed the list of characters. Dr. Simon Forman, the astrologer, who saw the "Winter's Tale" on the seventeenth of May, 1611, noted also in his Diary, without a date, what he had seen in the play of "Cymbeline":—

"Cymbeline."

"Remember also the story of Cymbeline, King of England in Lucius' time; how Lucius came from Octavius Cæsar for tribute, and, being denied, after sent Lucius with a great army of soldiers, who landed at Milford Haven, and after were vanquished by Cymbeline, and Lucius taken prisoner; and all by means of three outlaws, of the which two of them were the sons of Cymbeline, stolen from him when they were but two years old, by an old man whom Cymbeline banished; and he kept them as his own sons twenty years with him in a cave. And how one of them slew Cloten, that was the queen's son, going to Milford Haven to seek the love of Imogen, the king's daughter, whom he had banished also for loving his daughter.

"And how the Italian that came from her love conveyed himself into a chest, and said it was a chest of plate, sent from her love and others to be presented to the king. And in the deepest of the night, she being asleep, he opened the chest, and came forth of it, and viewed her in her bed, and the marks of her body, and took away her bracelet, and after accused her of adultery to her love, etc. And, in the end, how he came with the Romans into England, and was taken prisoner, and after revealed to Imogen, who had turned herself into man's apparel, and fled to meet her love at Milford Haven; and chanced to fall on the cave in the woods where her two brothers were; and how, by eating a sleeping dram, they thought she had been dead, and laid her in the woods, and the body of Cloten by her, in her love's apparel that he left behind him, and how she was found by Lucius, etc."

That is a very good example of the art of telling the matter of a play by tumbling its contents together into a shapeless mass of odds and ends. There was probably no great distance of time between Simon Forman's records of the "Winter's Tale" and "Cymbeline" in his "Booke of Plaies and Notes thereof," now No. 208 of the Ashmole MSS.; and although there is no evidence that Forman saw in either case a play newly produced, it may be right to place the production of "Cymbeline" very near the time of Shakespeare's retirement from London. Some critics have even placed it within a year or two of his death. It is, of course, not necessary to suppose, nor is it likely, that retirement to Stratford meant more than retirement from the bustle of the theatre to peace of home, with undisturbed use of his genius. Shakespeare died at the age of fifty-two, and if he had lived only to sixty in good health at Stratford he would have written at least six or eight more plays. Withdrawal from those forms of work that parted him too much from home did not mean withering, but strengthening, of powers that were best used where his mind was freest. But, for anything we know to the contrary, Shakespeare might in those last years of his life have been slowly dying of consumption; or he may have been in full health until cut off suddenly by fever, bred of the want of drainage, and unwholesome conditions generally, in the town of Stratford. We cannot tell; but having reason to think that "Cymbeline" is one of his later plays, there is no reason why we should not imagine it to have been written at Stratford after he had left London, if there be anything to make us agree with those who date it in 1614 or 1615.

Of Cymbeline and his sons we read in Geoffrey of Monmouth's "History of British Kings," a more than half-fabulous book which appeared a little before the year 1147, and in the form of chronicle delighted readers with the substance of romance. It was the source of the story of

Gorboduc, which was made the theme of our first English tragedy. It was the source of the story of King Lear. It was the source of a great stream of Arthurian romance. It enters also into all subsequent histories of British kings.

Cymbeline in Geoffrey of Monmouth.

According to this chronicle King Heli, who reigned forty years, had three sons—Lud, Cassibelaun, and Nennius. Lud succeeded Heli; he was a great builder of cities, and he rebuilt the walls of Troynovant, which was the city he loved best, so that it was called Kaer Lud, a name corrupted into Caerlondon, and thence into London. He was buried by the gate named after himself Lud-gate. He had two sons—Androgeus and Tennantius—who at their father's death were too young to take rule. Their uncle Cassibelaun succeeded, therefore; but he made Androgeus ruler of Troynovant and Duke of Kent, and he made Tennantius Duke of Cornwall.

In the time of Cassibelaun Julius Cæsar invaded Britain, and was defeated. He came again, and was defeated. But then feud arose between Cassibelaun and his nephew Androgeus, who sided with Cæsar, and thus enabled him to conquer. Androgeus was much looked up to by Cæsar, and went to Rome with him. He was living at Rome when Cassibelaun died, and Tennantius, Duke of Cornwall, brother to Androgeus, and King Lud's other son, therefore succeeded. Tennantius was the father of Kymbelinus, or Cymbeline, who was thus the grandson of King Lud, and succeeded Tennantius on the British throne. Geoffrey of Monmouth says that after the death of Tennantius, "Kymbelinus, his son, was advanced to the throne, being a great soldier, who had been brought up by Augustus Cæsar. He had acquired so great friendship for the Romans that he freely gave them tribute when he might have very well refused it." (This point Shakespeare turns to the best account at the close of his play.) "In his days was born our Lord Jesus Christ, by whose precious blood mankind was redeemed from the devil, under whom they had been before enslaved. Kymbelinus, when he had governed Britain ten years, begat two sons, the elder named Guiderius, the other Arviragus. After his death the government fell to Guiderius." The old chronicle then tells how Guiderius, by refusing tribute, caused the invasion of Claudius. In resisting it, Guiderius slew more men than were slain by the greater part of his army, but he was stabbed by a Roman named Hamo, who had disguised himself as a Briton. Arviragus then put on his brother's

armour and fought in his person. The emperor escaped to his ship with one part of his army. Hamo, with the other part of the army, was pursued to "a part of the sea-coast which, from the name of Hamo, is now called Southampton," and Arviragus himself there killed Hamo as he was attempting to get on board a merchant ship. Arviragus afterwards made peace with Claudius, who gave him his beautiful daughter Genuissa in marriage. A later revolt of Arviragus brought Vespasian to Britain; but Arviragus was too strong for him. Arviragus then grew old in peaceful rule; he confirmed old laws and established new, "so that his fame spread over all Europe," says Geoffrey of Monmouth, "and he was both loved and feared by the Romans, and became the subject of their discourse more than any king of his time. Hence Juvenal relates how a certain blind man, speaking of a turbot that was taken, said—

"'*Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno*
Excidet Arviragus.'"

"Some king shall be thy thrall,
Or from his British car Arviragus shall fall."

On which passage the best editor of Juvenal, for want of Geoffrey of Monmouth's aid, observes, "There is no British Prince of this name on record contemporary with Domitian. The man is talking nonsense, and he knows it."

In the old "History of British Kings" there is nothing that associates the reign of Cymbeline with a tale of Imogen. Her name may have been suggested by the chronicle, for Ignoge was there the name of the daughter of the Greek king, Pandrasus. She was wife to Brutus, founder of Britain, and was mother of his three sons, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, who gave their names to the three regions of Britain.

The mediæval tale which Shakespeare has adapted to his purpose and placed in the days of Cymbeline is first known in the forms of two French romances of the thirteenth century. In one of them, the "Roman de la Violette," the King of France holds a full Easter court at Pont de l'Arche. Gerard de Nevers sings of the perfection of his love, the fair Oriant. Some knights are jealous. Liziart pledges high stakes with Nevers that he can prevail over

his lady. The wager is accepted with the king's approval. Liziart is admitted to the table of Oriant at Nevers, offers love, and is repulsed, but obtains help from old Gondrée, Oriant's duenna, to make it appear that he has succeeded. Through a secret hole he sees Oriant bathing, and observes a mark like a violet under her right breast. Liziart returns to Court. The lady is summoned. Upon evidence of the violet Liziart is held to have won the wager. Gerard departs with his lady, and is about to kill her in a forest, when he has to turn and defend himself against a terrible serpent. The lady is left to her adventures. Gerard, in guise of a minstrel, goes to Nevers that Liziart has won from him, obtains evidence of Liziart's treachery, after many adventures finds Oriant, proves to the king her innocence, and kills in a combat her traducer, who confesses his untruth.

A like story was told about the same time under the title of "Le Compte de Poitiers," where a knight named Gerars, Count of Poitiers, boasted of his lady's perfection, and of her fidelity, at a Court held by King Pepin, where the Duke of Normandy was provoked to stake Normandy against Poitou that he could obtain the lady's favour. He fails, and the lady tells the Duke's proposal to a nurse, who goes to him and helps him to belie her mistress. She steals a ring from the lady's finger, gives some hair from her comb, and a piece of velvet from her dress. There is the decision at the Court of Pepin against the lady. The Count of Poitiers departs with his wife. On the third day, when they are in a thick forest, and when he is about to kill her, a great lion rushes on them. He kills the lion and forsakes the lady, travels on, changes his dress with a pilgrim, visits Poitiers, where the Duke rules in his place, and from a conversation between the Duke and the nurse learns that his wife is innocent. Other adventures follow, ending in single combat with the

traducer at the Court of Pepin, the Duke's confession, and the endowment of the traduced wife with his lands.

Upon the same subject there was in France also a mediæval play which added the Creator, the Virgin, the Archangels Gabriel and Michael, and the Apostle John, to the persons of the story. The following sketch of this play was given in 1839 in "Further Particulars of Shakespeare and his Works":—

"Lotaire, the emperor, makes war on Alfons, King of Spain; the latter flies to his brother, the King of Grenada, for assistance. During his absence Lotaire and his nephew, Ostes, lay siege to Burgos, and there capture Denise, the daughter of Alfons. Lotaire procures Ostes to be married to Denise, and makes them King and Queen of Spain. Lotaire and Ostes for a time quit Spain for Rome, leaving Denise behind in Burgos. At Rome Ostes meets Count Berengier, and the Count wagers his possessions with Ostes, who gages his kingdom of Spain, on the chastity of Denise during her husband's absence. Berengier proceeds to Burgos to make the attempt, and concerts with Eglantine, the female attendant of Denise, in order to accomplish his purpose. She gives her mistress a sleeping draught, and then steals what Denise most valued (a bone of one of her husband's toes, which he had given her just before his departure for Rome), and informs Berengier of some secret mark she carried on her person. Berengier returns to Rome, shows the bone in triumph, and discloses the secret mark he pretends to have seen. Ostes determines to kill Denise; but she is forewarned of his intention, and, by the advice of the Virgin, flies from Burgos to her father and uncle at Grenada, in male attire. She is taken into the service of her uncle, and, unknown to be a woman, is made his standard-bearer. Ostes, unable to find her and wreak his vengeance upon her, turns renegade, blasphemes his Creator, and serves the Saracens. In the meanwhile the Kings of Grenada and Alfons collect their forces, and are about to march against Lotaire, when Denise (who now calls herself Denis) entreats that she may proceed to Rome to have an interview with Lotaire, promising to do her best to render bloodshed unnecessary. She goes to Rome, and, proclaiming Berengier a traitor to Denise, challenges him to single combat. Ostes by this time has repented his denial of Christianity, and, warned from Heaven, proceeds to Rome to do penance for his sin. He arrives when the combat between Denise and Berengier is about to take place. Ostes, too, challenges

the traitor, and is adjudged to enter the lists against him in preference to Denise. Berengier is overcome, confesses his crime, Denise discloses her sex, and the war is at an end. Alfons is not restored to his kingdom, which continues in the hands of Ostes and Denise, but Lotaire gives him the kingdom of Mirabel, and the comté of Vaux-Plaissiez, while the King of Grenada bestows upon him land which will yield him 3,000 livres per annum.

"There are two points of resemblance between the French *Miracle* and Shakespeare which may deserve remark. Berengier tells Ostes when proposing the wager,

> " 'Et vous dy bien que je me vant
> Que je ne sçay femme vivant,
> Mais que ij foiz à li parlasse,
> Que le tierce avoir n'en cuidasse
> Tout mon delit.'

That is to say, 'I tell you truly that I boast that I know no woman living, but if I might *speak to her twice*, at the third time I might have all my desire.' Iachimo ("Cymbeline," Act I. scene 5) says: 'With no more advantage than the opportunity of a *second conference*, and I will bring you from thence that honour of hers which you imagine so reserved.' This is found neither in 'Boccaccio' nor in 'Westward for Smelts.'

"Again, in the French miracle-play, Berengier, endeavouring to work upon the jealousy of Denise, tells her—

> " 'De Romme vien, où j'ay laissié
> Vostre seigneur, qui ne vous prise
> Pas la queue d'une serise:
> D'une garce c'est acointié
> Qu'il a en si grand amistié,
> Qu'il ne scet de elle departir,'

i.e., 'I come from Rome, where I left your lord, who does not value you the stalk of a cherry; he is connected with a girl for whom he has so strong a regard that he knows not how to part from her.' The passage where Iachimo represents the manner in which Posthumus in Rome spends his revenues upon depraved women will readily occur to all, and no corresponding inducement is to be met with in the Italian novelist, nor in the English imitator" in "Westward for Smelts."

From such material Boccaccio framed his ninth novel of the second day of the Decameron, in which

Several Italian merchants met accidentally at a supper in Paris, and talked lightly of their absent wives. Only Bernabo Lomellia of Genoa maintained the perfections of his wife, Ginevra, and his confidence that, if he were away from her for many years, nothing could lessen her fidelity. Ambrogiulo, a young merchant of Piacenza, jested at this, and laid the wager that, if opportunity were given him, he would prove that faith to rest on an illusion. He went accordingly to Genoa, where what he heard convinced him that he had come on a vain errand, and would lose his wager unless by some fraud he could appear to have won. He made acquaintance with a woman who was often employed in Ginevra's service, and by connivance with him the woman, pretending unavoidable absence for a few days, asked Ginevra to take charge of a large box, which was accordingly, with Ambrogiulo concealed in it, placed in Ginevra's bedchamber. When she slept, Ambrogiulo came out, observed the furniture, observed the mole upon her breast, and took a ring, a purse, and other trifles. When Ambrogiulo began at Paris his report, Bernabo observed that he could have obtained from his wife's women all he reported and brought. But when the evidence of the mole on the breast was added, Bernabo acknowledged the wager won, and set out for Italy. When near Genoa he sent for his wife to come to him, giving secret orders that she should be put to death on the road. The servant brought some of her clothes, reporting that he had killed her, and left Ginevra free to escape in male disguise. She entered the service of a Catalonian gentleman, and thence passed into the service of the Sultan, under the name of Sicurano. The Sultan sent Sicurano with a band of soldiers to protect Christian and Turkish merchants at the fair of Acre. There she saw her own purse and girdle hanging in the shop of a Venetian merchant. She asked, as a stranger, whose they were, and whether they were for sale. Ambrogiulo, who had just brought in some merchandise, stepped forward, said they were his, and told as a joke how he had come by them, with the story of the wager and boast that he had really won it on the terms appointed. He laughed at the folly of the man who had laid five thousand florins to one thousand upon trust in a woman. Ginevra now understood Bernabo's conduct. In her character of Sicurano, she professed amusement at the story of Ambrogiulo, sought his acquaintance, and took him to Alexandria. Then she sought for Bernabo, who was reduced to great distress, and had him brought privately to Alexandria. At a convenient time

she caused the Sultan to draw from Ambrogiulo all his story in Bernabo's hearing. Bernabo confessed that he had killed his wife. Sicurano the man was then transformed into Ginevra the woman, and proved to the Sultan her identity by evidence of the mole on the left breast. Ambrogiulo was put to a cruel death, and all his wealth was given to Ginevra. The Sultan gave to Bernabo and Ginevra jewels and money, and sent them in a ship to Genoa.

From such light suggestion, Shakespeare took his point of departure for the shaping of the beautiful play of "Cymbeline." Imogen is Shakespeare's answer to the light jests upon women that, in all ages, have sprung abundantly from men whose thoughts were low. She is a woman tried in all ways and found true. Before the hardest trials come, she is beset with

> "A father cruel, and a stepdame false;
> A foolish suitor to a wedded lady
> That hath her husband banished."

The worst pinch that follows serves only to bring out the utmost beauty of her womanhood.

As in "Lear" Shakespeare draws the lineaments of nature with the greater force by placing his tragedy, based on the tie between father and child, in a half-barbaric time; so he does also in "Cymbeline," with his play based on the tie between husband and wife. These ties were to Shakespeare of all bonds the strongest; and the love by which they hold men to each other, the chief happiness on earth. In "Cymbeline," as in "Lear," the surrounding accidents of fortune, that are no part of the true life of the mind, are treated as of light account. The bare life of Belarius and the two boys in the mountain cave, plain living and high thinking in ideal form, shows noble manhood parted from the pomp that Lear found to be without comfort for a breaking heart. In the interwoven story of Belarius also, as in the interweaving of the tale of Gloster with the tale of Lear, Shakespeare gave breadth and depth

to his play without confusion of its motive. Gloster, like Lear, distrusted the true child, and was victim of the false. Belarius, like Imogen, was struck by slander and unjustly condemned.

The skill of the dramatist in opening his story, and preparing by clear touches for effects to be produced as it draws near the close, is a marked feature in all plays of Shakespeare, and nowhere more marked than in "Cymbeline."

"*Cymbeline.*"

The first scene of the First Act tells in its first twelve lines of Imogen's marriage and her husband's banishment, with as much circumstance belonging to the story as could be put into so small a space—of the King, the Queen, and her son Cloten. It goes on to tell of the demerits of Cloten, and to tell fully the character and history of Leonatus. It prepares for the introduction of Guiderius and Arviragus by telling of the King's loss of his two sons, stolen in their childhood, leaving Imogen sole heir to the crown. The second scene then shows the parting of husband and wife, haunted by the presence of Imogen's treacherous stepmother. Posthumus will have his residence in Rome at one Philario's. The gifts of ring and bracelet are exchanged, and Cymbeline in anger bids the husband begone, at whose departure Imogen exclaims,

> "There cannot be a pinch in death
> More sharp than this is."

Cloten's suit is urged on her by her father in anger; and she is practised against by her stepmother, Cloten's mother, with outward shows that Imogen knows to be false. The base nature of Cloten, and the fidelity of her husband's servant, Pisanio, who has been left with her, are shown. A scene follows, the fourth in the First Act, which is an outpouring of the wife's deep love in its purity; but before she could have charged her husband

> "At the sixth hour of morn, at noon, at midnight
> To encounter me with orisons, for then
> I am in heaven for him; or ere I could
> Give him that parting kiss which I had set
> Betwixt two charming words, comes in my father,

> And like the tyrannous breathing of the north,
> Shakes all our buds from growing."

Upon this outpouring of a true wife's love, with all the charm of a true woman's nature, follows immediately, in sharp contrast, the scene at Rome, in the house of Philario, fellow-soldier with the father of Posthumus, where Philario, with Iachimo, the Italian, and other men of the world—a Frenchman, a Dutchman, and a Spaniard—talk as the world often talks. When Posthumus enters they laugh at his faith in woman. The scene represents the cynical slander upon womanhood, which is here to grow into the slander of one faithful woman. The wager offered is accepted, and a new trial is prepared for Imogen. We return to one of her other trials, in the stepmother who is ready for murder. In her scene with the physician and Pisanio, the box which she thinks to contain poison, and which the physician has made only a harmless stayer of the course of life for a short time, during which there is but the image of death, is passed into the hands of Pisanio in a way that prepares for the second scene of the Fourth Act. The First Act ends with the reception of Iachimo by Imogen, and his cunning slander of Posthumus that brings only grief into her heart, not bitterness against the man who has her great heart's love. Her instant detection, through the false note that he strikes, precedes his easy duping of her through her love, when he sounds praises of her husband in her ear. The Act ends with her consent to receive his trunk and guard it for him in her bedchamber.

The Second Act begins with Imogen beset by the gross suit of Cloten, and Italian villainy. It ends with Posthumus overcome by the deceits of the Italian villain, who steals the bracelet, and by lying like truth wins the ring. The Fourth Act is again prepared for by Cloten's half-witted and revengeful dwelling upon the impatient words wrung out of Imogen when he is rudely importunate and she is vexed at loss of the bracelet Posthumus had given her :

> " His meanest garment,
> That ever hath but clipped his body, is dearer
> In my respect than all the hairs above thee
> Were they all made such men."

No lover can ever have missed in Imogen one sign of a full loyal woman's love. Her love includes all weaknesses that are a part of strength. If she is made to believe ill of Posthumus she cannot think ill ; only a tender thought comes of each wound made in her heart by the traducer. She is Wordsworth's ideal of

"A perfect Woman, nobly planned
To warn, to comfort, and command,"

while yet

"A creature not too bright or good
For human nature's daily food;
For transient sorrows, simple wiles,
Praise, blame, love, kisses, tears, and smiles."

Imogen can be impatient under strain and extreme provocation, but it is always with a sense that she has pardon to ask for the breach of courtesy. She excels in all things womanly. Twice in the First Act there is reference to her use of the needle. In the second scene of the Fourth Act she has credit, as Fidele, for her skill in music and in cookery.

Arviragus. How angel-like he sings!
Guiderius. But his neat cookery: he cut our roots in characters,
And sauced our broths as Juno had been sick,
And he her dieter.

But the cultivation of her mind is one part of her womanliness. She reads even till midnight. I have said that Shakespeare builds his plays upon elementary truths of life, not upon subtle and ingenious allegories. One truth is at the heart of every play; and what truth more common than the love of woman, to which man owes honour and allegiance, which is the true saviour of earthly happiness, which is full of trust and a rare self-devotion, of which in our own day the worst ills of fortune among the London poor have failed to choke the life in many an afflicted heart? We thank Shakespeare for Imogen, in whom he has caused all the character and all the grace and truth of womanhood to rise triumphant above the poor cynicism that accounts itself to be the spirit of the world. The spirit of the world is God, and the true voice of life is that which declares God in the life of man. Woman's love, as it is shown in Imogen, is surely, of all love on earth, that which is likest God's, repelling all that is impure, yet full of an infinite tenderness, and overcoming evil with its good.

In the Third Act Imogen, victim of slander, hurries to Milford Haven at the call of Posthumus, and hears from the faithful Pisanio her lord's order for her death. She follows Pisanio's friendly counsel, and puts on man's dress, that she may enter into the service of Lucius, and so come to be near Posthumus in Rome, where truth may prevail and reunite them. Cloten's half-witted and coarse notion of revenge

for being valued below the garments of Posthumus, leads him also to the woods by Milford Haven, where Belarius has the king's sons nobly nurtured, although housed within a cave. Their cave door bids them stoop as they come out under the sky, and so pay reverence to Heaven.

> " Stoop, boys : this gate
> Instructs you how to adore the heavens, and bows you
> To a morning's holy office : gates of monarchs
> Are arched so high that giants may jet through
> And keep their impious turbans on, without
> Good-morrow to the sun.—Hail, thou fair heaven !
> We house i' the rock, yet use thee not so hardly
> As prouder livers do.
> *Guiderius.* Hail, heaven !
> *Arviragus.* Hail, heaven."

In such simplicity of nature the unknown sister comes as Fidele to the unknown brothers, and when the queen's box, meant to contain poison in name of restorative, produces in the worn-out Fidele the semblance of death, Shakespeare finds occasion for an idyllic scene in the Fourth Act that breathes the music of domestic love. But to this music Shakespeare gives also its larger voice. To the instinct of brotherhood that makes Guiderius and Arviragus feel nature drawing them towards Fidele, when Arviragus says,

> " Brother, stay here :—
> Are we not brothers ? "

Imogen's answer is—

> " So man and man should be ;
> But clay and clay differs in dignity,
> Whose dust is both alike."

In the Fifth Act the vision of his father, mother, and brothers to Posthumus in his prison is associated with a plaint to Jove, who descends to condemn their misreading of mortal accidents, and so figures the Providence of God, who blesses us with what we call our griefs. In the close it is still love that prevails. Imogen, as she embraces Posthumus, says—

> " Think that you are upon a rock ; and now
> Throw me again.

Posthumus. Hang there like fruit, my soul,
Till the tree die."

To the repentant Iachimo the answer of Posthumus is—

"Kneel not to me:
The power that I have on you is to spare you;
The malice towards you to forgive you. Live,
And deal with others better.
Cymbeline. Nobly doomed.
We'll learn our freeness of a son-in-law.
Pardon's the word to all."

And even in the peace between Britain and Rome, the victor, in good-will and honour to Rome, yields the desired tribute to the vanquished. The play ends too happily to be a tragedy, although the womanly tenderness of Imogen, under her trials, brings many a man to tears.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHURCH AND STATE UNDER JAMES I.: ANDREWES, DONNE, USHER, AND SELDEN.

LANCELOT ANDREWES must have been well known to Edmund Spenser in his youth, for they were nearly of the same age, and went from the same school to the same college. There is even a mistaken tradition that they were competitors at Cambridge for a Fellowship obtained by Andrewes. But knowledge of each other does not seem to have brought them close together as young men. Andrewes at Cambridge was studying the Fathers and applying himself to theology so faithfully along the ancient lines, that he became famous in after years as the first divine of the English Reformed Church who in argument could meet the Roman Catholics on their own ground and claim a victory. Spenser at Cambridge chiefly applied himself to study of the Bible and the poets. In after days there was the Irish Sea between these schoolfellows. Their ways of life were parted, and they agreed only in being, each in his own way, deeply religious.

Edmund Spenser and Lancelot Andrewes.

Lancelot Andrewes, born in 1555, was the son of a seafaring trader, whose home ashore was in Thames Street, in the parish of All Hallows, Barking. The seafaring father, who was of a Suffolk family, lived to become Master of Trinity House. The son, who lived to be Bishop of Winchester, was first sent to the Coopers'

Lancelot Andrewes.

Free School in Radcliffe, and then to the newly-founded Merchant Taylors' School, where he became one of Richard Mulcaster's best scholars in Greek and Hebrew. Dr. Thomas Wattes, Prebendary of St. Paul's and Archdeacon of Middlesex, founded some scholarships in Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, afterwards known as the Greek scholarships, and gave the first of them to Lancelot Andrewes, Mulcaster's best Grecian. So Andrewes went to Spenser's College.

After he had taken his B.A. degree there was but one Fellowship vacant at Pembroke Hall, and there were two men who seemed equally entitled to it. Andrewes was one, and the other was not Spenser, but Thomas Dove, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough. These two, therefore, were tested by scholastic exercises. Andrewes obtained the Fellowship, but Dove was retained by Pembroke Hall with an allowance given him as *Tanquam Socius.*

Dr. Hugh Price had obtained from Queen Elizabeth, in 1571, authority for the foundation of Jesus College, Oxford, chiefly for the benefit of Wales by bettering her clergy. Lancelot Andrewes was placed by Dr. Price upon the first list of Jesus College Fellows.

After the time of his first graduation, Andrewes, while living in the University, walked every year to London and spent Easter in his father's house. There was no interruption of studies; he rose before the sun and was at his books till late. He loved no games, but found refreshment in home intercourse, talk with a chosen friend, and quiet country walks. Until he was B.D. he always went on foot between Cambridge and London, but then he rode a horse in unwilling deference to the world's notion of dignity.

In 1580 Andrewes was ordained, and he was then made Catechist in his college. The hour of catechising was from three o'clock in the afternoon on Saturdays and Sundays in the college chapel, and he then made it his duty

to give a course of lectures on the Ten Commandments which drew hearers not only from the colleges in the University, but also from the country round about. They were alike full of learning and of piety; their reputation was preserved and spread by copies from his own manuscript and from the note-books of the students, until sixteen years after his death, when they were published by Michael Sparke, a Presbyterian bookseller, in 1642, with this title page: "The Moral Law Expounded. 1. Largely. 2. Learnedly. 3. Orthodoxly. That is, the long-expected and much-desired work of Bishop Andrewes on the Commandments; being his Lectures, many years since, in Pembroke Hall Chapel, which have ever since passed from hand to hand in manuscripts, and been accounted one of the greatest treasures of private libraries, but never before this published in print; and hereunto is annexed nineteen Sermons of his, on Prayer in general, and on the Lord's Prayer in particular. Also seven Sermons upon our Saviour's Temptations in the Wilderness; both which two latter Treatises, though before printed, yet being much worn out of press, were thought fit, for divers reasons, to be added to this work."

Earlier Writings.

While putting his first strength as a divine into these lectures on the Ten Commandments, that gave him at once a first place among Cambridge teachers of divinity, Andrewes was widely trusted as an adviser in cases of conscience. The Earl of Huntingdon, President of the North, invited him to spend some time with him as his chaplain, and labour for the conversion of Roman Catholic recusants. In 1589 Sir Francis Walsingham obtained for him the vicarage of St. Giles's, Cripplegate. This brought Andrewes to London. He was made soon afterwards a prebendary of St. Paul's, and besides preaching constantly at St. Giles's, he preached at St. Paul's three times a week in term time. Then he was appointed chaplain to the

Archbishop of Canterbury, and chaplain-in-ordinary to the Queen. Two bishoprics were offered to him by Elizabeth, but he declined them both, because they were offered with a condition that he should consent to alienate part of the possessions of the see.

After the death of Dr. William Fulke,* on the twenty-eighth of August, 1589, Lancelot Andrewes was appointed his successor in the office of Master of Pembroke Hall. Fulke, as a friend and follower of Thomas Cartwright, had lived through troublous times at Cambridge, but recovered ground like other Puritan divines. The Earl of Leicester had secured his appointment as Master of Pembroke Hall, when Spenser's friend, Dr. John Young, quitted that office for the Bishopric of Rochester.† During the last years of his life, Dr. Fulke had been especially active with his pen in defence of the English Church against the Church of Rome, and of the English Bible against the Rhemish.

William Fulke.

In 1601 Queen Elizabeth made Andrewes Dean of Westminster. He held that office at the accession of James I., and remained Master of Pembroke Hall until 1605, when King James persuaded him to accept the Bishopric of Chichester, and made him his Almoner. Appointed in 1607 as one of the translators of the Authorized Version of the Bible, Lancelot Andrewes was one of the ten who had charge of the Pentateuch and of the historical books from Joshua to the First Book of Chronicles.

Lancelot Andrewes, Dean of Westminster, made Bishop.

This was the man to whose learning King James entrusted the continuation of the controversy with Bellarmine, which he had begun with his own answer to two letters from the Pope and one from Bellarmine against the king's required Oath of Allegiance.‡ When Bellarmine replied in the name

The Controversy on the Oath of Allegiance.

* "E. W.," viii. 288. † "E. W.," ix. 17, 54, 62. ‡ "E. W.," xi. 83.

of his secretary to the king's *Triplici Nodo, Triplex Cunæus*, prudence and dignity alike suggested that his Majesty should stand aside and leave the battle to be finished by a man who was for such conflict the strongest in his realm. He must be of the strongest who could hope to stand in argument against the trained skill of the famous champion of the Papacy.

Robert Bellarmine, an Italian Jesuit, born in Tuscany in 1542, was the great controversialist on the side of Rome. He had taught divinity at Louvain, and read lectures at Rome on points of controversy, had been sent also as legate to France, when, in 1599, he was made cardinal, and, in 1602, Archbishop of Capua. In 1605 he resigned the archbishopric that he might be near the Pope, and do battle for the Papacy on the great question of the day. He was learned, acute, and so honest in avoiding misrepresentation of the arguments he sought to answer, that his works, in three folio volumes, put very fairly upon record the positions of his opponents as well as his own.

King James's pamphlet was first published in English by Robert Barker in 1607, as "*Triplici Nodo, Triplex Cunæus*, or, an Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance against the two Breues of Pope Pavlvs Qvintus, and the late Letter of Cardinal Bellarmine to G. Blackwel the Archpriest." It was then issued, within the same year, in Latin, for the use of readers on the Continent; and again, from a London press, in 1609, in French; for the definition of the Pope's Primacy belonged then to the questions of the day in France.

Bellarmine's reply on behalf of the Papacy was published in 1608 in two editions—the first at Cologne, another, without name of place or printer, probably in London. Its full title was—"*Matthæi Torti Presbyteri et Theologi Papiensis Responsio ad Librum Inscriptum Triplici Nodo, Triplex Cunæus, sive Apologia pro Iuramento fidelitatis: aduersus duo Breuia Papæ* PAULI V. *et recentes litteras*

Cardinalis Bellarmini ad Georgium Blackvellvm, Angliæ Archipresbyterum. Qua ostenditur Iuramentum illud ab hostibus fidei Catholicæ excogitatum, iniquissimè à subditis Catholicis, sub gravissima bonorum omnium amissione, perpetuorumque carcerum pœna, postulari atque exigi." In this little quarto of one hundred and forty pages each brief of the Pope's is again given before the answer to it, the first of the two briefs including in itself the full text of the Oath in question. The full text also of Bellarmine's letter is given, and in the justification of it, which forms the larger half of the book, Bellarmine is evidently speaking for himself in the third person. There is no suggestion that the reply is to King James. His Majesty had not set his name to his work; it is treated, therefore, as by an unknown author. The issue is simple. The king of England claimed that he asked nothing of his Catholic subjects beyond obedience in civil affairs, and that he did not touch their allegiance to the Pope in spiritual things. The essence of the reply was that the Primacy of the Pope gave him unlimited authority for the protection of the Faith, to bind and loosen, to excommunicate heretic kings, and absolve their subjects from obedience to them; that to believe this, was an article of religion which no good Catholic could put aside without peril to his soul; and that the English Catholics, of whom many had borne, as martyrs, noble witness of their fidelity to conscience, must suffer martyrdom for this cause also, and thus help to maintain the Pope's authority. It was observed also in the reply to King James that if the Oath were for security against civil rebellion, "rebels," not "Catholics," would have been the word to use; but that the Oath was required of Catholics as such, and was defended by men who professed themselves not Catholics, who were therefore heretics, in whom no trust could be put.

The reply by Lancelot Andrewes, published in 1609,

was in a larger quarto of four hundred and two pages, with more in a page. In its title-page it announces the king's authorship of the book answered by Tortus : "*Tortura Torti; sive, Ad Matthæi Torti Librvm Responsio, qui nuper editus contra Apologiam Serenissimi Potentissimique Principis, Iacobi, Dei Gratia Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regis, pro Ivramento Fidelitatis.*" This was issued from the house of the king's printer, Robert Barker, and was dedicated to James I. by Lancelot Andrewes as Bishop of Chichester and the king's chaplain and almoner. The king, says Andrewes, is in the forefront of the battle begun by a Pope, supported by a Cardinal, then left to a chaplain who is not worthy to fall by the right hand of great Æneas. The chaplain is met, therefore, by a chaplain who hopes to add one syllable to his name that he may become Retortus. Andrewes indicates that he sees Bellarmine behind Tortus, but whether it be true or feigned, says Andrewes, I accept the name and the omen: *tortus enim certe est, quisquis est.* Then he proceeds with much acuteness to the argument, sometimes seasoning his learning with light strokes of controversial wit.

In the next year (1610) John Donne supported the king's policy in requiring the Oath of Allegiance from his Roman Catholic subjects, with an English book, arguing that they could take the oath without hurt to their consciences, and that if they incurred pains and penalties for their refusal, such obstinacy did not entitle them to be considered martyrs. They were false martyrs. The book was entitled "Psevdo-Martyr. Wherein out of certaine Propositions and Gradations, This Conclusion is euicted, That those which are of the Romane Religion in this Kingdome may and ought to take the Oath of Allegeance." The publication of this book, which was dedicated to King James, brought Donne into high favour at the age of thirty-seven.

John Donne.

John Donne was born in 1573, the son of a London merchant. He was taught at home till, in his eleventh year, he was sent to Hart Hall, Oxford. At fourteen he left Oxford for Cambridge, where he remained till he was seventeen, but took no degree because his family was Roman Catholic and would not let him take the required oath. He left Cambridge for London, and studied law at Lincoln's Inn. His father died at that time, leaving him three thousand pounds. His mother sought to bring him to the faith of his parents, and unsettlement of mind caused him to make a special study of the controversies of the time between the Roman Catholics and the Reformers. As a storehouse of opinion on the controversy, young Donne fastened upon the works of Cardinal Bellarmine.

Donne went with the expeditions of the Earl of Essex, in 1596 and 1597, and spent afterwards some years in Italy and Spain. When he returned to England he became chief secretary to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. He held that office five years, during which he fell in love with a niece of Lady Ellesmere—Anne More—who lived in the family. Her father, Sir George More, heard of this, and carried away the young lady to his house in Surrey, but a secret marriage was effected. When this was told to Sir George he caused Lord Ellesmere to dismiss his secretary, whom apparent ruin could not keep from a play on words, according to the fashion of the time; for in writing the sad news to his wife he added to his signature the line, "John Donne, Anne Donne, Un-done." Donne was imprisoned for a time, and when he was free his wife was kept from him. He sued at law to recover her.

She came to him when his means were almost gone, and a family grew fast about the young couple, who were living in the house of a kinsman, Sir Francis Woolly, of Pirford, Surrey. It was then urged upon Donne that he should take orders in the Church, but he hesitated, and

preferred study of civil and canon law. Sir Francis Woolly died, but before his death he had persuaded Donne's father-in-law to cease from wrath and pay a portion with his daughter, at the rate of eighty pounds a year. Donne remained very much dependent on the liberality of friends, and was still studying points of controversy between the English and the Romish Church, when a home was given to him in the London house of Sir Robert Drury, which has left its name to Drury Lane.

Influential friends who appreciated Donne's genius sought to advance him at court in some secular employment, for he had not yet entered the Church. The king liked his presence and conversation, but gave him no substantial help until "Pseudo-martyr" appeared in 1610. The book had an ingenious dedication to his Majesty. Then it began by distinguishing between the dignity of true martyrdom and the inordinate and corrupt affectation of it. It then argued that the Roman religion encouraged this vicious affectation of danger by erroneous doctrines: as the interference with secular magistrates, the undue extolling of merits, especially the merit of martyrdom, and by the doctrine of Purgatory, from which martyrs are promised an escape. It set forth that the Jesuits especially encouraged this corrupt desire of false martyrdom; and that they could not have the comfort of honest martyrdom because they obeyed the Pope, if they disobeyed other laws. Then Donne proceeded to the question of the several obediences due to princes and claimed by the Roman Church. The way was thus laid open for detailed argument in support of the Oath of Allegiance.

"Pseudo-martyr."

Donne even now condemned rather the worldly than the spiritual element in the creed to which he had been bred. Of his "Divine Poems," part certainly were written while he was a Roman Catholic. And when King James, delighted with his "Pseudo-martyr," urged him to enter

the ministry of the English Church, he held back for almost three years, during which he gave himself to such study of divinity as should assure his conscience and fit him for the work if he found that he could undertake it. The result was that he did at last enter the ministry of the Reformed Church, with his whole heart in its duties. King James then made him his Chaplain in Ordinary; the University of Cambridge, at the king's wish, somewhat unwillingly made him in March, 1615, a Doctor of Divinity, and Dr. Donne became one of the greatest preachers of King James's reign. In July, 1616, he was made Rector of Sevenoaks. His wife died in childbed in August, 1617, leaving him with seven children—survivors of twelve born—just as the days of their adversity were at an end. He mourned her loss deeply, and did not marry again. The Benchers of Lincoln's Inn had made Donne, in October, 1616, their lecturer; the king made him Dean of St. Paul's in November, 1621; the Vicarage of St. Dunstan's in the West fell to him also.

The king's way of conferring the Deanery illustrated the fashion of the day for small conceits, and seemed, no doubt, witty and pleasant to them both. His Majesty invited Donne to dinner, sat down himself, and said: "Dr. Donne, I have invited you to dinner, and though you sit not down with me, I will carve you of a dish I know you love well; for knowing you love London, I have made you Dean of St. Paul's. And when I have dined, then take your beloved dish home to your study, say grace there to yourself, and much good may it do you."

What more is to be said of Donne as a divine will be associated in a later chapter with discussion of his place among the poets of the time of James I. and Charles I.

Lancelot Andrewes did not long survive King James, and we may complete at once the record of his life and work. When he was made Bishop of Chichester, the living

of Cheynham was added to the bishopric, as the revenues of the see were small. In 1609, after the publication of *Tortura Torti*, Andrewes was advanced to the Bishopric of Ely and made a Privy Councillor. In 1618 he was made Bishop of Winchester and Dean of the Chapel Royal. He died on his birthday, the twenty-fifth of September, 1626, when seventy-one years old.

Lancelot Andrewes.

It was said of Andrewes in his funeral sermon that "his life was a life of prayer; a great part of five hours every day did he spend in prayer and in devotion to God." He prayed in Greek and Latin, and his book of Private Prayers was found after his death "worn in pieces with his fingers and wet with his tears." They were compiled from the writings of the early Fathers of the Church, but chiefly from the Scriptures, and a translation of them from the Greek and Latin was published by Dr. Dake in 1648; the *Preces Privatæ* were first published in their original Greek and Latin at Oxford in 1675. About two years after the death of Lancelot Andrewes "Ninety-six sermons" of his were published by William Laud, then Bishop of London, and John Buckeridge, Bishop of Ely, who had been the preacher of his funeral sermon. Though often too ingeniously artificial in outward construction, and overloaded with Latin quotations, the sermons of Lancelot Andrewes live and will live, for the true soul that is in them of a worship that looked Godward to learn the duties and, as one with them, the charities of life. Andrewes never married, and spent freely the revenues of his rich preferments. He was grateful to his first teachers, gave one of them a living, often helped Mulcaster, and remembered with a legacy of twenty pounds Mulcaster's son Peter. He was liberal to his college at Cambridge. When Master there, he found it penniless, and left it with a thousand

Preces Privatæ.

Sermons.

pounds of ready money in its chest. He helped poor scholars, sought out the fittest for preferment, and in use of his Church patronage never gave a living to an unfit person because a great man recommended him. When Dean of Westminster he had the boys of Westminster School often as guests, aided them in their studies, and caused them to love him as a wise and tender-hearted friend. Sometimes at Westminster he would take the head-master's place for a week, to give him rest. One of his early pupils—John Hacket—wrote of Bishop Andrewes that "he was the most apostolical and primitive-like divine that wore a rochet in his age; of a most venerable gravity, and yet most friendly in all commerce; the most devout that ever I saw when he appeared before God; of such a growth in all kinds of learning that very able clerks were of a low stature to him; full of alms and charity, of which none knew but his Father in secret; a certain patron to scholars of fame and ability, and chiefly to those that never expected it."

In the studies which gave Andrewes his power of reasoning with Roman Catholics on their own chosen ground, he was followed by a younger divine—twenty-five years younger—whom James I., at the end of his reign, made Archbishop of Armagh. This was James Ussher, or Usher.

Usher was born at Dublin in 1580, son to one of the six clerks in chancery. He was taught to read by two aunts, who had been blind from their cradle, but who knew much of the Bible by heart. James Usher. Trinity College, Dublin, owes its existence to a grant made, in 1591, of the Augustinian monastery of All Saints, a priory of regular canons founded in 1166 by Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster. At the suppression of the monasteries, Henry VIII. gave this to the Mayor and Corporation. They, at the instance of Dr. Adam

Loftus, the Archbishop, gave the land with the decayed buildings on it as a site for the Protestant University upon which Queen Elizabeth conferred its charter. The first stone was laid on New Year's Day, 1593. The College began work in the same year, with the Archbishop, Dr. Loftus, for first Provost, and Henry Usher, M.A., Luke Challoner, M.A., Lancelot Moyne, B.A., for its first three Fellows, and James Usher was one of the first three students admitted. He had delight in history, made chronological tables as a boy, and, as a youth, when the Church controversies became interesting to him, he resolved to read for himself the whole works of the Fathers whose authority was so continually cited. He began at the age of twenty, and, reading a portion daily, finished at the age of thirty-eight. He is said to have had his tendency to study of the past for uses of the present stimulated early by dwelling on a sentence of Cicero, which says, "To be ignorant of what happened before you were born is to be always a child."

When Usher was about to be sent to London to study law, his father died. He then abandoned to his brothers and sisters his paternal inheritance, reserving only enough for his own support at college in a life of study; obtained a Fellowship; at the age of twenty-one took holy orders; argued and preached against the Catholics, and opposed toleration of them. At the accession of James I. James Usher was twenty-three years old.

Some English troops having subscribed eighteen hundred pounds for the library of the new Trinity College, Dublin, the formation of the library was entrusted to Dr. Challoner and Mr. James Usher, who went to London, in 1603, on a book-buying expedition. In London they found Sir Thomas Bodley buying books for Oxford.

While he was in London Usher's mother became Roman Catholic, and all his controversial skill failed afterwards to reconvert her. In 1606, and afterwards at

regular intervals of three years, Usher was again book-buying in England. In 1607 he was made—aged twenty-seven—Professor of Divinity at Dublin and Chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral. In 1612 he became Doctor of Divinity.

In 1613 Dr. James Usher published in London, and dedicated to King James, his first book, in Latin, continuing from the sixth century the argument of Jewel's Apology * to prove that the tenets of the Protestants were those of the primitive Christians. In the same year Usher married the well-dowered daughter of his old friend and associate in book-buying, Luke Challoner, who had charged her on his death-bed to marry no one but Dr. Usher, if he offered himself. They lived happily together forty years.

In 1615 a convocation of the Irish clergy drew up by Usher's hand a set of one hundred and four articles for the Irish Church. Their theology was Calvin's, and they included an injunction to keep holy the Sabbath-day: for this, and his strong opposition to the Roman Catholics, it was represented to King James that Usher was a Puritan. A correspondent of Usher's at this time observed how easily the king could be set against a clergyman by styling him a Puritan, "whence it were good," he said, "to petition his Majesty to define a Puritan, whereby the mouths of those scoffing enemies would be stopt; and if his Majesty be not at leisure, that he would appoint some good men to do it for him." His Majesty hated a Puritan as one who did not bow down to the divine right of rule in bishops and archbishops, and therefore would have but a weak faith in the divine authority of kings.

When Usher came to England next, in 1619, he found it necessary to bring with him a certificate of orthodoxy from the Lord Deputy and his Council, and he had to submit to

* "E. W.," viii. 200, 201.

the infliction of a private theological examination, with his most conceited majesty for the examiner. But Usher was a strong and conscientious supporter of authority in Church and State, and passed his examination so well that the king gave him the bishopric of Meath. As bishop, Usher was still active against Catholicism, and he published in English, in 1622, "A Discourse on the Religion Anciently Professed by the Irish and British," to show that Protestant opinions were those of the ancient faith, and point out how at successive times the practices of the Church of Rome had been introduced. This work caused King James to command that Bishop Usher should produce a larger work, in Latin, on the antiquities of the British Church, with leave of absence from his diocese for consultation of authorities. He was a year in England, returned to Ireland in 1624, and, in reply to William Malone, published an "Answer to a Challenge of a Jesuit in Ireland," to disprove uniformity of doctrine in the Roman Catholic Church, thus giving more evidence of his knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquities. He then returned to England, and as the Archbishop of Armagh died at that time, King James, in the last year of his reign, gave the archbishopric to Usher, who was not consecrated until after James's death.

Sir Thomas Bodley.

When Usher first came to London as a buyer for the library of Trinity College, Dublin, he met Thomas Bodley, who was engaged in book-buying for his own foundation at Oxford, the Bodleian, famous now as one of the chief libraries of Europe. Bodley was born at Exeter in 1544, the son of that John Bodley who, in exile at Geneva, had been a chief promoter of the translation known as the Geneva Bible.* Thomas Bodley had come to England at Elizabeth's accession, entered at Magdalene College, Oxford, become Fellow of Merton, had been employed by the queen on embassies, was for nine

* "E. W.," viii. 142, 206.

years ambassador at the Hague; but in 1597 he retired from public life, and made it the work of his last years to give to the University of Oxford a library in place of that which it had lost. In 1602 he refitted the dismantled room which had been used for the library founded by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and furnished it with ten thousand pounds' worth of books. Bodley was knighted by King James soon after his accession. In July, 1610, he laid the foundation-stone of a new library building, and died in 1612, about a year before the building was completed.

Another friend of Usher's who gave very great aid to the advancement of learning by the discovery and preservation of literary treasures, was Sir Robert Cotton. Robert Bruce Cotton, born at Denton, Huntingdonshire, in January, 1571, was educated at Westminster School when Camden was second master there, and afterwards proceeded B.A., in 1585, at Jesus College, Cambridge. His family was wealthy; he married at the age of twenty-two, and was at home in Cotton House, which was at Westminster, near Palace Yard, and had a garden sloping to the Thames. His home became a treasure-house of records of the past, collected from the scattered waste of monasteries and in all ways, with a diligence like that of Richard of Bury. Like Richard of Bury, also, Cotton gave to all good students free use of his books, and his own knowledge was at their service. The chief scholars of the day were Cotton's familiar friends, often at work in his library. Francis Bacon drew from it material for his History of Henry VII. King James often consulted Cotton, and perhaps had from him the notion of making money by the sale of hereditary knighthoods under the new title of baronet. The royal shop for the sale of this commodity was opened in 1611. Cotton was in the same year one of the second batch of purchasers, and so became Sir Robert, thirty-sixth in the list of the baronets King James

Sir Robert Cotton.

created. He lived till the year 1631, and we shall meet with him again.

John Selden.

John Selden was among the friends who made best use of the records of the past at Cotton House. No man knew better than Selden how to apply knowledge of the past to uses of the present. He was born in 1584, in the hamlet of Salvington, about two miles from Worthing. A house called Lacies at the entrance to the village is pointed out as his birthplace. He was the only surviving son of a musician, and was first educated at the Chichester Free School, where he made rapid advance in his studies. He went on to Oxford, and, after three or four years at Hart Hall, went to London and made law his profession. He had a keen appetite for the study of history and antiquities—not as dead things of the past, but as foundations of right knowledge of the present, and in that sense was the very type of a true antiquary.

In 1607, at the age of twenty-three, Selden finished, in two books, a summary of public occurrences and events affecting the development of civil government in this country before the Conquest. It was dedicated to Robert Cotton, and printed nine years afterwards.

In 1610 Selden published a sketch of the development of English Law from the earliest times to the reign of Henry II., and also a study of the history of the custom of Duelling, then one of the familiar institutions of society. In 1613 Selden applied his learning to the provision of notes for his friend Michael Drayton's poem on his native land, the "Polyolbion." In 1614 his knowledge of the past interpreted the present in a book upon "Titles of Honour." In 1616, year of Shakespeare's death, John Selden edited Sir John Fortescue's Latin tract in Praise of the Laws of England, which showed how the constitutional life of the country was felt even in a disastrous time of civil war.* In

* "E. W." vi. 202–212.

1617 an interesting Latin book on the Gods of the Syrians illustrated the idolatries described in the Old Testament. In 1618 he applied his learning to a question of the Church in his own day, the divine right of tithes. King James looked on denial of this as akin to the denial of his own supremacy.

Selden's "Historie of Tithes" proposed to give an impartial statement of the evidence as to the divine or human institution of the tithes paid for support of the Church. His book was dedicated to his friend Sir Robert Cotton, from whose precious collection of rare books and MSS. he had drawn part of his knowledge. The practical purpose for which true students acquire the knowledge to be drawn from such old sources is expressed in this dedication with the pithy wisdom that abounds in Selden's writings— "Historie of Tithes."

"To have borrowed your help, or used that of your inestimable library (which lives in you), assures a curious diligence in search after the inmost, least known, and most useful parts of historical truth, both of past and present ages. For such is that truth which your humanity liberally dispenses; and such is that which by conference is learned from you: such indeed, as if it were, by your example, more sought after, so much headlong error, so many ridiculous impostures, would not be thrust on the too credulous, by those which stumble on the road, but never with any care look on each side or behind them; that is, those which keep their understandings always in a weak minority that ever wants the authority and admonition of a tutor. For, as on the one side, it cannot be doubted but that the too studious affectation of bare and sterile antiquity, which is nothing else but to be exceeding busy about nothing, may soon descend to a dotage, so, on the other, the neglect or only vulgar regard of the fruitful and precious part of it, which gives necessary light to the present in matter of state, law, history, and the understanding of good authors, is but preferring that kind of ignorant infancy, which our short life alone allows us, before the many ages of former experience and observation, which may so accumulate years to us as if we had lived even from the beginning of time."

The plan of the "History of Tithes" is thus sketched by Selden himself in its introduction:—"As touching the

account of it—the whole being fourteen chapters—the first seven are thus filled. The first hath what is, in best authority of the ancients, belonging to those tithes paid before the Levitical law. The second, the several kinds paid by the Jews under the law, and this from Hebrew lawyers. The third shows the practice of the Romans, Grecians, and some other Gentiles in paying or vowing them. Then the whole time of Christianity being quadripartitely divided (with allowance of about twenty years more or less to every part), takes up the next four chapters, in which the practice of payment of tithes, arbitrary consecrations, appropriations, infeodations, and exemptions of them, establishment of parochial right in them, as also the laws, both secular and ecclesiastic, with the opinions of divines and canonists touching them, are, in their several times, manifested; but so only, that whatsoever is proper to this kingdom of England, either in laws or practice, either of payment or of arbitrary consecrations, appropriations, or infeodations, or establishment of parochial right, together with a corollary of the ancient jurisdiction whereto they have been here subject, is reserved all by itself to the next seven chapters. But every of the fourteen have their arguments prefixed, which may discharge me of further declaration in this place. By this time, I trust, you conceive what the name of History in the title pretends; and the Tithes spoken of purposely in it (for perhaps it is needful to admonish that also) are only such as either have been paid, vowed, or dedicated to holy uses, or else give light to the consideration of the performance or omission of such payment."

King James was displeased with a book that, while it professed to put all due evidence into each scale, had not weight enough on the scale he wished to see the heavier. He caused Selden to be brought to him that he might reason with him, and his reasoning was heard with the outward deference due from a subject to a king. But also the king

caused Selden to be interrogated by the High Court of Commission, which had despotic power of inflicting severe penalties on those who fell under Church censure. Selden escaped by signing a declaration in which he did not retract anything in his book, but humbly acknowledged his error in publishing it, "especially in that I have at all, by showing any interpretation of Holy Scripture, by meddling with Councils, Fathers, or Canons, or by what else soever occurs in it, offered any occasion of argument against any right of maintenance, *jure divino*, of the ministers of the Gospel: beseeching your lordships to receive this ingenuous and humble acknowledgment, together with the unfeigned protestation of my grief, for that through it I have so incurred both his Majesty's and your lordships' displeasure, conceived against me in behalf of the Church of England." Of this he said afterwards, "I did most willingly acknowledge that I was most sorry for the publishing of that History, because it had offended, and I profess still to all the world that I am sorry for it; and so should I have been if I had published a most orthodox catechism that offended; but what is that to the doctrinal consequences of it?" The king ordered Richard Montague, then Dean of Hereford, to answer Selden, and forbade John Selden to reply again, saying, "If you or any of your friends shall write against this confutation, I will throw you into prison."

Montague's "Diatribe upon the First Part of the History of Tithes" appeared in 1621, and pleased the king so well that his Majesty suggested other literary work to him. Richard Montague became a bishop, but not until 1628. Other men answered Selden's history, and in a letter to Sir Edward Herbert, afterwards Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who was then serving as ambassador in France, Selden complained that, while he was forbidden to defend himself, all who chose were free to attack him as viciously as they pleased.

In 1621, also, the king came into conflict with the Parliament called in that year to provide for his necessities. It offered him advice which he resented as presumptuous meddling with affairs of State, and the House of Commons was bidden to avoid touching the prerogatives of the king, who declared that the privileges claimed were held from the Crown as "rather a toleration than inheritance," and if members forgot their duty, privileges would be disallowed.

On the eighteenth of December the House entered a protest on its journals declaring "that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdiction of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritances of the subjects of England." The king held a privy council, sent for the Commons' journal, and with his own hand erased that entry. John Selden, for his knowledge of past history, had been sent for by the House and asked what were its privileges. He had replied as a sound English constitutional lawyer, in whom the love of a just liberty was strong, and the terms of the protest of the House were framed in accordance with his counsel. The king dissolved the Parliament and imprisoned some of its members. Selden also was, for his part in the contest, placed in custody of the sheriff. After five weeks of durance he was questioned before the privy council and discharged. He owed some relief from difficulties at court to the good offices of Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, who was, Selden tells us, the only bishop who approved of the "History of Tithes." Towards the close of his reign, James needing, in February, 1624, again to summon a Parliament, Selden entered it as member for Lancaster.

CHAPTER IX.

"THE TEMPEST."

"THE TEMPEST" was first printed in the first folio of 1623. There is no record that shows when it was first acted. For various insufficient reasons it has sometimes been regarded as the last play written by Shakespeare; and it has even been supposed that Shakespeare figured his retirement from the theatre in Prospero's resolve to break his staff. It is certain that the play was not written before the year 1603, when Florio published his translation of Montaigne; for a passage in the first scene of the Second Act is evidently founded on a portion of one of Montaigne's essays as Florio translated it, and as the poet read it in his own copy, which is now in the British Museum, and contains one of the few remaining autographs of Shakespeare. As to the date of the play, there is no other certainty. "The Tempest."

It is very possible that the publication in 1610 by Silvanus Jourdan of "A Discovery of the Barmudas, otherwise called the Isle of Divels: by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers, and Captayne Newport, with divers others," directed Shakespeare's fancy towards Prospero's island. That book told of a storm at the Bermudas in July, 1609, which dispersed the fleet of Sir George Sommers and Sir Thomas Gates. But it is at least as likely that Shakespeare's imagination had been directed towards "The Tempest" by reading the forty-first canto of the "Orlando

Furioso," in the translation of Sir John Harington, which was first published in 1591, and of which there was a second edition in 1607.

The date assigned to the untrustworthy record of a performance of "The Tempest" before King James on the first of November, 1611, in Mr. Peter Cunningham's "Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court," was probably designed to fit with the publication of Jourdan's book in 1610. There is no other evidence of a recorded date of performance till that found by Malone of a representation of "The Tempest" at the beginning of the year 1613, by the king's company, before Prince Charles, the Princess Elizabeth, and the Princess Palatine.

The play is a pure work of Shakespeare's fancy, touched possibly by some suggestion from a crude earlier play now lost, but known through Jacob Ayrer's German version of it as "The Fair Sidea."

Shakespeare's fable shows a man, Prospero, who has been wronged to the utmost by a wicked world. Imagine such a man cast adrift by his fellows, landed on an island where men are not, and gifted with fairy power that enables him to say to all mankind, I banish *you*. Give him for a companion a child who shall satisfy him singly with the purest human love. Make him master of the spirits of the earth and air, so that he may have at call whatever nature needs for sustenance, with all luxuries that can delight a man thus isolated from his fellows. Nay, more, place in his magic power all his enemies; bring them within reach of his spells, let him be free to drown them if he will. What will he do? The play is Shakespeare's answer to the question; its theme, man's need of man. Prospero's whole device, which is the subject of the play, is a plot for turning hate to love. He will join his daughter in marriage to the son of his inveterate enemy. He will bring those who had wronged him to repentance. He will make himself their

friend, he will put off his magic power, and will return with them to the brotherhood of men, whose world is no doubt wicked, but of whose wickedness we all are part; the world we live in, such as it is—the world in which we have to work and love till hatreds are no more.

"*The Tempest.*"

Prospero, Duke of free Milan, had by love of study been too much withdrawn from duties of the State. He had left the management of State affairs to a false brother, who, aspiring to full possession of the Dukedom, had bought the alliance of the King of Naples, Prospero's inveterate enemy, by offering, upon his own succession to the Dukedom, to make Milan tributary to the Crown of Naples. Antonio, false brother, and Alonso, King of Naples, by joint force became masters of Milan; and Prospero, with his daughter Miranda, then not fully three years old, was turned adrift on the sea in a rotten boat to perish. The execution of this last crime was committed to an honest counsellor in the service of the King of Naples, who by his loyalty felt bound to do as his king bade, but by the kindness of his nature joined to the fulfilment of his duty every gentle act that it allowed. Not only food and clothes, but the books Prospero loved were put into the boat with him—the magic books. Then the sea bore Prospero and his child far away, and cast them on an island uninhabited by men. This happened twelve years before the action of the play—"Twelve years since, Miranda, twelve years since." Miranda's age, therefore, is imagined to be fifteen.

Upon the same island there had been left, twelve years before Prospero and Miranda were cast on its shore, a witch Sycorax, banished from Algiers into that uninhabited wilderness as punishment for evil sorceries; but for one thing she did, they would not take her life. She was with child when banished, and her child, Caliban, was born upon the island. By her sorcery, she put the spirits of the island in thrall to her, but one—a spirit too fine to obey her earthly and abhorred commands—she imprisoned in a cloven pine, and within its rift Ariel remained painfully confined a dozen years. Before Prospero's landing Sycorax had died. Ariel was found fixed in the cleft pine and set free by the magic art of Prospero. Caliban, whose age is indicated by the years of Ariel's imprisonment, was twelve years old. His magic books made Prospero supreme over the powers of the earth and air. Of the earth earthly, sensual, devilish,

was Caliban. Prospero taught him speech and trained him, till his earthly nature led him to attempt a foul assault upon Miranda. Thenceforth he was kept in absolute subjection. If his age be in the least worth noting, we may note that it must have been about twenty-four at the time of the action of the story.

The King of Naples, Prospero's inveterate enemy, has given his daughter Claribel in marriage to the King of Tunis. He has conveyed her to Tunis with a fleet. Antonio, the false brother of Prospero, and usurper of his Dukedom, as a vassal to the Crown of Naples, is in attendance on the king, who has with him his brother Sebastian, and Ferdinand his son. The old counsellor Gonzalo is also part of the king's following. The marriage is over, and Claribel has been left at Tunis. King Alonso and his fleet are on their way back to Naples when their voyage brings them within sight of the enchanted island, at an hour when Prospero has fullest power over them. He separates the king's ship from the rest. He is free now to take a full revenge. But "kindness nobler ever than revenge"—the duty, that all Shakespeare's magic is contrived to make us feel, of conquering evil with good, not beating upon hate with hate but turning hate to love, and drawing close the cords that bind men to each other,—to this Prospero now shapes his magic art.

The play opens with the king's ship driving ashore in a storm. The shipmaster and the boatswain are labouring to keep the vessel from running aground. The king and his companions—persons of the story—come on deck, and each speaks in character. The king, accustomed to command, speaks with the air of a commander, but in presence of death, the great leveller, is ordered below by the boatswain. "Hence! What care these roarers for the name of king? To cabin: silence! trouble us not." Gonzalo, who, with that sense of loyalty which made him carry out the orders against Prospero, cares greatly for the name of king, by his first words indicates both his kindly humour and his loyal instinct: "Good, yet remember whom thou hast aboard." He gets up a comfortable little joke also out of the rudeness of the boatswain, for as this fellow is born to be hanged are they not safe against drowning? After the manner of good-natured old gentlemen, he also cherishes his joke, he chirps over it again presently, and it reappears at the end of the play. Sebastian and Antonio, on the contrary, who represent the hard malice of life, capable of treason and murder, speak wholly in accordance with their cruel natures. Gonzalo's thoughts, when expecting instant death, are of wife, children, brother, and "the wills above be done," with amiable prattle intermixed.

In the next scene Prospero and Miranda watch from shore the splitting of the vessel in the magic storm. Miranda has suffered with those whom she saw suffer, and in all her words there is the gentle spirit of humanity. Prospero, whose spells are prompted by the same good spirit, bids her tell her piteous heart there's no harm done; puts off his magic robe—"Lie there, my art"—and, left with no other magic than a father's love, comforts his child—"Wipe thou thine eyes; have comfort"—assuring her that

> "The direful spectacle of the wreck, which touched
> The very virtue of compassion in thee,
> I have with such prevision in mine art
> So safely ordered, that there is no soul—
> No, not so much perdition as an hair,
> Betid to any creature in the vessel,
> Which thou heard'st cry, which thou saw'st sink."

He tells her then the story of their coming to the island; and it may be observed that her one vague memory of childhood is of a wider fellowship with human life—

> "Had I not
> Four or five women once, that tended me?"

It may be observed also that, as Prospero goes on with his tale, Miranda stands in rapt attention with her eyes fixed on the outer space. In this motionless attention and fixed gaze, there is excellent dramatic reason for the breaks—"Dost thou attend?" etc.—in a narrative too long for continuous delivery by one person in a play. It may be observed also that the tale of wrong done to Prospero by the world in which he lived, ends with memory of the kindness shown by Gonzalo in the performance of an evil duty. Gonzalo is no hero of romance; he is no more than a good, kind-hearted, commonplace man. It was actually by his hand that Prospero was cast adrift, because he was obedient to the king's commands, and did what he thought to be his duty without question. Nevertheless, only his kindness is remembered, and Miranda's wish is, "Would I might but ever see that man!"

Then Prospero resumes his magic robes and proceeds to use his power on the world that cast him out.

His design is twofold. He is concerned with Ferdinand, son to the King of Naples, his inveterate enemy, whom he desires to bind in love to his daughter Miranda; that is one way of conquest

over the old hatred. But he also designs to touch the whole body of the world that wronged him — his own brother, the King of Naples, and the rest, whom he desires to bring to repentance; and, through repentance, into full forgiveness and new fellowship. Ariel, therefore, has been bidden to separate Ferdinand from his father, bring him to land on a lonely part of the shore, and then lead him to the presence of Miranda.

Prospero's whole device aims at the kindly touching of the hearts of men, and its action occupies less than four hours of a summer afternoon. Shakespeare marks the time of the play very distinctly. At the outset, in the second scene Prospero asks Ariel, "What is the time of day? *Ariel.* Past the mid season. *Prospero.* At least two glasses"—that is, at least, two in the afternoon; and then he adds, "The time 'twixt six and now must by us both be spent most preciously." The time here given, therefore, is from 2 p.m., or a little after, until 6 p.m. At the beginning of the last Act, Prospero again asks Ariel, "How's the day?" and Ariel answers—

> "On the sixth hour, at which time, my lord,
> You said our work should cease."

In the last scene the King of Naples speaks of himself and his company "who three hours since were wrecked upon this shore;" he also says to his son of Miranda, "Your eld'st acquaintance cannot be three hours;" and the boatswain speaks of "our ship which three hours since we gave out split." We may take the time of action, therefore, as about three hours and a half, from a little after two until a little before six in the afternoon.

Ariel's spirit-song as she leads Ferdinand, the son of Prospero's inveterate enemy, towards Miranda, figures union and peace:

> "Come unto these yellow sands,
> And then *take hands:*
> *Court'sied when you have and kiss'd,*
> *The wild waves whist.*"

The joining of the hands of Ferdinand and Miranda will still the waves of evil passion. We shall find a like figure of the stilling of the waves of human passion by the influence of music, in a song in "King Henry VIII." Observe also that the "burdens" of the spirits in this song are the watch-dog's bark and the crow of strutting chanticleer. They point to the aim of the spell, human fellowship and Prospero's return to neighbourhood with man; for the watch-dog and the barn-door fowl

are associated only with the homes of men. The music crept by Ferdinand upon the waters, allaying both their fury and his passion. When it has led him to the presence of Miranda, the song changes to a ditty that recalls his drowned father. "I hear it now above me," Ferdinand says, and looks heavenward. The tenderness of filial love stirred by the song, calls forth upon his face the highest spiritual beauty; and then it is that Prospero first shows him to Miranda, for it is then that he says to her,

> "The fringéd curtains of thine eyes advance,
> And say what thou seest yond."

When the charm works as Prospero desires it should, his glad promise to Ariel is,

> "Spirit, fine spirit! I'll free thee
> Within two days for this."

He trusts within two days to find love pledged between this pair. But love's high magic works beyond his hope. "At the first sight they have changed eyes:—delicate Ariel, I'll set thee free for this," and there is no more thought about two days. It is rather—

> "This swift business
> I must uneasy make, lest too light winning
> Make the prize light."

The show of severity accordingly applies its test to the young love; and the First Act ends with Prospero's whispered directions to Ariel of work to be done towards the other part of his design:

> "Thou shalt be as free
> As mountain winds: but then exactly do
> All points of my command."

We pass, in the Second Act, to two scenes that fairly show the texture of the world that cast out Prospero. One shows the King of Naples mourning for the supposed loss of his son; there is the kind old follower, Gonzalo, with others, including Adrian and Francisco, to add to the proportion of kind natures in this little mirror of the world; but there are also Antonio and Sebastian to represent treason and malice. In the other scene are Stephano and Trinculo, the drunkard and the fool, who are not to be left out of reckoning, and whose natural relations are with Caliban.

In the first scene Gonzalo is bringing his poor comfort to the mourner by endeavouring to show the brighter side of things, and wilfully to occupy his mind with harmless talk that may withdraw it from the pain of brooding over sorrow. Gonzalo's comforts are but commonplaces in the ear of grief, but they are bred of such kindness as every mourner in the world has felt, while he is unconsciously supported by poor phrases that cannot be spoken in vain when they have in them a little of the balm of human sympathy. Shakespeare has no contempt for the commonplace people and commonplace thoughts that form the chief part of the intercourse of life. Better a kindly nothing than good wit without good will. So Shakespeare's Duke Theseus put aside contempt for Bottom's company of "hard-handed men that work in Athens here," who strained small wits to grace his wedding with a play, saying,

> "I'll see that play,
> For never anything can be amiss
> When simpleness and duty tender it."

Gonzalo's friendly attempts at consolation are set to a running accompaniment of mockery from Sebastian and Antonio. For the playful mockery that springs out of good will and good humour, and in which there is no malice at all, Shakespeare has only the friendly warning that the descant must not take the place of the plain-song, that the true word simply spoken must have its place among all giddy variations on it. But the mockery that has ill will in it, this Shakespeare gives only to the cruel and the base—to Richard III.; to Iago; to the two men in "The Tempest," Sebastian and Antonio, who are capable of murder.

When Gonzalo tells his notion of what a State would be if he had the making of it, Shakespeare puts into his mouth an ideal out of Montaigne, because it suits well the conception of his play. The old man owns that he talks for the sake of talking, to direct the king's attention from his grief; but the matter harmonises with that of a play which dwells upon man's need of his fellows. If I had the making of the world, says Gonzalo, it should be this and this. But here is the world in which we have to work, with love for our instrument if we would overcome its ills. In Sebastian and Antonio there is not only the running mockery of Gonzalo, but there is the stabbing of the king with cruel words—"Sir, you may thank yourself for this great loss," etc.—before they draw swords to stab the king and his old friend in their sleep, that again one brother may supplant another, and Sebastian become King of Naples as Antonio became Duke of Milan.

In the other scene of this Act the earth-monster Caliban becomes acquainted with the drunkard and the fool, and makes a god to himself of the poor drunkard who has taught him the divinity of wine.

In the Third Act the first scene paints the innocent and pure love between Ferdinand and Miranda, with illustration of that Divine lesson, "Bear ye one another's burdens"—

> "If you'll sit down,
> I'll bear your logs the while."

It paints, also, Prospero's joy, in their happiness and in the achievement of this part of his design. In the next scene there is a change from purest love to most cruel hate—that of Caliban, who incites Stephano and Trinculo to murder Prospero, and gloats over luscious suggestions of the way to do it.

> "'Tis a custom with him
> I' th' afternoon to sleep: then thou may'st brain him,
> Having first seized his books; or with a log
> Batter his skull, or paunch him with a stake,
> Or cut his weasand with thy knife."

The third scene opens with renewed resolve by Sebastian and Antonio to murder the king and Gonzalo, now over-wearied by long search for the lost Ferdinand; and then, close upon these suggestions of treason and murder, comes the main action of the second part of Prospero's design. There is tempting show of a table spread in the wilderness. When the men who represent the wicked world that cast out Prospero draw near to eat, the show vanishes; there is a rush of harpies' wings; and Ariel as a harpy speaks the words that are designed to touch their hearts, and bring them to repentance:

> "You are three men of sin," etc.
> "Remember
> (For that's my business to you), that you three
> From Milan did supplant good Prospero;
> Exposed unto the sea (which hath requit it)
> Him and his innocent child: for which foul deed
> The powers, delaying, not forgetting, have
> Incensed the seas and shores, yea, all the creatures
> Against your peace. Thee of thy son, Alonso,

They have bereft ; and do pronounce by me
Lingering perdition (worse than any death
Can be at once) shall step by step attend
You and your ways, *whose wraths to guard you from*
(Which here, in this most desolate isle, else falls
Upon your heads) *is nothing but heart's sorrow,*
And a clear life ensuing."

The better natures are thus softened to remorse ; the harder spirits of Sebastian and Antonio are struck with confusion ; and the Act closes with this part of Prospero's design in the straight way to success.

The Fourth Act opens with Prospero's blessing on the love of Ferdinand and Miranda, a blessing to be made secure by purity in life and thought. Prospero uses his art to delight them with a fairy show, in which Heaven and Earth—Iris and Ceres—themselves so bound that the words of each begin with praise of the other, join in blessing on the marriage of true minds. Venus, not wanted, is far away with her doves ; but Juno, Queen of Heaven, crowns the blessing, and a fairy dance of water-nymphs with the "burnt sicklemen of August," of the "temperate nymphs" with weary sons of toil, closes the show. The fairy dance is broken off by Prospero's recollection of the plot of Caliban. The defeat of such a plot is easy. The sensualist and the fool, alike infirm of purpose, are easily led by the glitter of a little frippery to yield to the first temptation that may offer. They busy themselves with the gay clothes presented to their eyes, forget their plot, and then, by spirits in the shape of hounds, with noise of a hunt, they who have fallen below the level of the beasts, as beasts are hunted.

The last Act then shows Prospero's attainment of the ends he had sought. His enemies are prisoners to him in the lime-grove that weather-fends his cell. "If you beheld them," Ariel says, "your affections would become tender."

"*Pro.* Dost *thou* think so, spirit ?
Ariel. Mine would, sir, were I human.
Pro. And mine shall.
Hast thou, which art but air, a touch, a feeling
Of their afflictions ? and shall not myself,
One of their kind, that relish all as sharply
Passion as they, be kindlier moved than thou art ?
Though with their high wrongs I am stung to the quick,
Yet, with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury

Do I take part.* The rarer action is
In virtue than in vengeance: *they being penitent*
The sole drift of my purpose doth extend
Not a frown farther." †

Prospero's last charm is to call for heavenly music, that a strain of true harmony may keep time with the restored music of life. He will give up his rough magic, break his staff, and returning to the fellowship of man, use only the finer magic of God's gift of love. In making himself known to his old enemy, the King of Naples, he says—

"For more assurance that a living prince
Does now speak to thee, I embrace thy body."

He can say now with a free heart—

"Welcome, *my friends all.*"

When by the drawing of a curtain the lost Ferdinand is shown at chess with Miranda, we have the ancient use of chess-play as an emblem of the game of life. We have in life, and shall always have, to oppose wit to wit in contests of opinion; but love may direct all the moves, the love that thinks no evil. Even the earth-monster Caliban is brought into the closing music—

"I'll be wise hereafter,
And seek for grace. What a thrice-double ass

* Compare "As You Like It," Act iv., sc. 2:—

"—— kindness, nobler ever than revenge,
And nature, stronger than his just occasion."

† Compare "Two Gentlemen of Verona," Act v., sc. 4:—

"*Proteus.* Forgive me, Valentine. If hearty sorrow
Be a sufficient ransom for offence,
I tender it here: I do as truly suffer
As e'er I did commit.
Valentine. Then I am paid;
And once again I do receive thee honest:
Who by repentance is not satisfied,
Is nor of heaven, nor earth; for these are pleased;
By penitence th' Eternal's wrath 's appeased."

Was I, to take this drunkard for a god,
And worship this dull fool!"

We may note also a suggestive summary of the spirit of the play in Prospero's last words. He stands part of such a group as Shakespeare often causes to speak thought to the eye. Around him are, in friendly form, the enemies whose evil he has overcome with good—the men he might so easily have shunned—and his last words to them are, "Please you DRAW NEAR."

CHAPTER X.

ENGLAND OVER THE SEA.—CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.—THE PILGRIM FATHERS.—LAUD UNDER JAMES I.

ADVENTURE BY SEA, after the death of Elizabeth, steadily advanced the work of planting colonies and opening new ways for trade. The privateers in Elizabeth's reign not only spoiled the Spaniard by intercepting treasure-ships, but struck where they could at Spanish colonies, and often sought ground on which Englishmen could settle. Sir Walter Raleigh, "Shepherd of the Ocean," as his friend Spenser called him, who controlled the movements of more privateers against the enemy than any other man of Elizabeth's days, had a large ideal of a system of colonisation that included the full hope of a New England and a Greater Britain far across the seas. Discouraged by no difficulties, he began under Elizabeth the planting of the colony, named from the Maiden Queen, Virginia. Under James I. this work of colonisation went on actively, and the foundations were laid of that England in the New World, which grew in strength till it escaped from tutelage; which laboured on for the advance of civilisation, one with the Mother Country in her noblest aims; whose voice is as our own, and whose people are Shakespeare's countrymen. Their writers are still English Writers, and they must not be omitted from this record. They are only the more English for their independence, and we are stronger for good service to the world now that

Hail, Columbia!

we are held together by no bond but the strongest, the old tie of kindred. Upon all shores we English, notwithstanding our stupidities and shortcomings and frequent meannesses, are fellow-workers for high aims, who still slowly advance a true civilisation—nowhere on earth yet half attained—and help towards bringing into good-fellowship at last all nations of the world. They who see only our follies as they fly in a thick cloud may think that a vain hope; not they who read our people's history, and study in our books the way of thinking that precedes each deed, the steady battle to find out the wrong and get it righted, to seek out the right for its own sake and do it, for its own sake and for the love of God.

In 1492-3 Columbus, a Genoese in service of Spain, discovered the West Indies, so called because they were supposed to be lands of India sought by him across the Western sea, the other side of the East Indies. In 1497 John Cabot and his three sons reached the Continent upon the coast of Labrador. Next year Sebastian, second son of John Cabot, coasted from Labrador to the Chesapeake; and in the same year Columbus, in his third voyage, reached the Continent near the Island of Trinidad, off the northern coast of South America. In 1502 the first negroes were transported to the Spanish colonies, and settled in Hispaniola. Columbus in his fourth voyage, 1502—1504, after his imprisonment, attempted to form a colony on the Isthmus of Panama. In May, 1506, he died. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine resident in Spain, sailed to the West in service of Spain and Portugal in 1507; and since he described the Continent as newly discovered, a German geographer called it after him America. We have seen that the book published by Amerigo Vespucci suggested to Sir Thomas More the writing of "Utopia."* Vespucci described Cuba as

* "E. W.," vii. 205—211.

part of the Continent, but a year later it was found to be an island. In 1513 the Pacific was reached across the isthmus, and after an interval of seven years, through the straits on the south. Thus it was found that Columbus had discovered a New World.

In 1512 Ponce de Leon, a companion of Columbus, expecting to find treasure and a fountain of youth, discovered Florida, so named because it was found on Easter Sunday, which is in Spanish *Pascua Florida*. He returned that very year to conquer and colonise, but was driven off by the natives, and returned no more. Not till 1541 did De Soto, pushing north and west from Florida, discover the Mississippi. Admiral Coligny in 1562 sent from France a party of Huguenot refugees, who built a fort named Carolina, after Charles IX., then King of France. This settlement was near the present Port Royal in South Carolina. As it failed, the settlers raised after two years, upon the St. John's in Florida, another Fort Carolina. In 1565 Melendez de Avilez, resolved to conquer and colonise Florida, took soldiers, priests, and negro slaves, and founded St. Augustina, the oldest town in the United States. He destroyed the Huguenots in their new Fort Carolina. Those who escaped from battle were put to death, "not as Frenchmen but as Lutherans." De Gourges, a soldier of Gascony, came, in 1568, with a force, took the Spanish forts, and sailed away again after hanging his prisoners, "not as Spaniards, but as Assassins."

During all this time, since the discoveries of the Cabots, England in the New World had only fishermen to represent her. But in 1578 Sir Humphrey Gilbert obtained Queen Elizabeth's patent to possess and settle.* He perished in his second voyage to America in 1583. Next year Sir Walter Raleigh visited the coast of North Carolina,

* "E. W.," viii. 282, 402; ix. 100, 105.

and called it Virginia, while in the two succeeding years Sir Richard Grenville planted two unsuccessful colonies on Roanoake Island. In 1587, in a third colony of Raleigh's, the first English child was born and named Virginia. That colony also disappeared, and in 1589 Raleigh made over his patent to men who were not more immediately successful. Thirteen years afterwards settling was resumed on and about Cape Cod by Bartholomew Gosnald, Martin Pring, and George Weymouth.

In 1603 Henri IV. of France granted to the Sieur de Mouts all territory from the present Pennsylvania to New Brunswick, as Acadie. A year later Pontrincourt, one of his officers, made the first settlement at Port Royal, now Annapolis. Champlain, in 1608, laid the foundations of Quebec; in 1609 he marched south to the lake named from him, and in 1615 he reached the southern shores of Lake Ontario.

The London and Plymouth Companies.

James I. of England issued, in 1606, his Patent of Virginia to two companies—the London and the Plymouth—each with power to colonise, to impose duties, and to coin. The southern half was assigned to the London Company, which, next year, settled a colony of a hundred, who founded Jamestown, named after the king. This was the first English town in America. From 1607 to 1609 Captain John Smith was their President. In this latter year a second charter extended the limits of the dominions of the London Company to the latitude of the present Philadelphia. Three years later the Bermudas were added. In 1615 colonisation on lands of the London Company was encouraged by grant of an estate to each settler. The freemen were called to a general assembly in 1619, and after another two years the Company granted its colonists a colonial constitution. Wives were imported, and sold to the settlers at from 120 to 150 pounds of

tobacco each—the pound of tobacco being worth about three shillings!

Towards the end of the reign of James I., in 1624, the London Company came to the end of its part in the Patent of Virginia, which then became a royal province, but the freemen continued to elect their Assembly. Only two thousand colonists remained alive of nine thousand who had been sent out.

The Plymouth Company, with control over the northern half of the region covered by the former patent, began work with a colony of forty-five on an island at the mouth of the Kennebec. Captain John Smith, sailing from Penobscot to Cape Cod, in 1614, called the country New England, and obtained the title of its Admiral. In 1620 the Plymouth Company became the Council of Plymouth for New England, with rights extending from the latitude of the present Philadelphia to Chaleur Bay. On the 11th of December of that year the Pilgrim Fathers, driven out of England by the policy of Archbishops Whitgift and Bancroft, first landed as settlers in New England, where, in recognition of help from the Plymouth Company, their first place of settlement was called New Plymouth.

A Separatist or Brownist congregation—who followed the counsel of Robert Brown to form, apart from the authorised worship, separate and independent Churches on a Scripture model—had met at the village of Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, on the Yorkshire border. It assembled at an episcopal manor-house which had come to be used as a station for post-horses, and was occupied by William Brewster as postmaster. John Robinson was its minister, Brewster its ruling elder, and a youth named William Bradford walked in from the neighbouring hamlet of Austerfield to worship.

John Robinson at Scrooby.

Bradford's heart had been first stirred by the preaching of Richard Clifton, rector of Babworth, near Scrooby.

When Clifton was silenced as a Puritan, young Bradford, indignant at this act of oppression, declared himself a Separatist, and joined the congregation of John Robinson at Scrooby, where his energy soon made him the civil head of the community, and he took afterwards his place in history as Governor Bradford of New Plymouth. John Smith, pastor of a Separatist congregation at Gainsborough, had removed his church to Amsterdam to avoid persecution, and he had been preceded by another minister—his tutor, Johnson. Disputes arose among the people at Amsterdam, and when the refugee Church of Scrooby joined them in 1608, the dissension caused John Robinson to remove with his followers to Leyden, where they remained eleven years in peace. Colonisation was then, in England and elsewhere, occupying energetic thought; and the desire grew in these men to found an easier and happier society than they could have as exiles in a foreign town, where men bred to English husbandry must learn town ways of earning their bread among strangers; William Bradford had become a silk dyer, William Brewster a printer. John Robinson and his congregration of three hundred resolved, therefore, to live no longer among foreigners, but to go out and found in the New World an English province in which their religion should be free. They sought in vain an Act of Toleration from the king. While they were negotiating, the Puritans of Lancashire were forced, by a royal declaration, to conform, or leave the kingdom; but by the help of Sir Edwin Sandys (to whose brother the Scrooby manor-house belonged), the English congregation at Leyden obtained a patent from the Virginia Company. They bought in London the *Speedwell*, a vessel of about sixty tons, and hired in England the *Mayflower*, a vessel of 180 tons, brought these little ships to Delft Haven, and there embarked in them, on the 22nd of July, 1620, as many

"The Pilgrim Fathers."

of the congregation as they would contain. William Brewster went as leader, William Bradford and Miles Standish being of the company. John Robinson, their pastor, stayed with those who were left, and blessed the departing vessels from the shore.

"I charge you," he said, in his solemn farewell, "I charge you before God and His blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. The Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of His Holy Word. I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the Reformed Churches, who are come to a period in Religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their Reformation. Luther and Calvin were great and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God. I beseech you remember it—'tis an article of your Church-covenant—that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written Word of God."

On the 11th of December, 1620, after various explorations for a fitting place of settlement, the pilgrims landed where they could resolve to moor the *Mayflower* and begin a settlement, which they called—after the last bit of England they had received kindness from at their departure—Plymouth. Every man of them built his own house in that hard winter weather, to which their first Governor soon fell a victim. His son had died when they landed, he himself died soon after, and the bereaved wife and mother quickly followed. At the end of March, 1621, William Bradford became his successor. Until the harvest of 1623 the infant colony that was to develop into a new world of English energy and freedom suffered much from want. Food was obtained from ships at famine prices, and there is a tradition that at one time there was only a pint of corn in the place; that, being divided with strict justice, gave to each inhabitant five kernels!

Ready alike with deed and word—himself active in planting the Southern, or London Company of Virginia, and sometime Governor of Jamestown, active also in aid of the Northern, or Plymouth Company, and sometime Admiral of New England—Captain John Smith has left full records of what he saw and heard, of all that was done and suffered by the first settlers under the patents for Virginia. Sir Robert Cotton read Smith's books with interest, and saw in them so many indications of an adventurous personal life that he invited their author to tell his own story in another book. This he did in a work published in the reign of Charles I., "The Trve Travels and Adventvres, and Observations of Captaine Iohn Smith, in Europe, Asia, Africke, and America: beginning about the yeare 1593 and continued to this present 1629."

Captain John Smith.

John Smith was born in 1579, at Willoughby, in Lincolnshire, and educated at the free schools of Alford and Louth. His parents died when he was about thirteen years old, leaving him competent means; but his mind was on adventures, and even before his father's death he had meant to run away from school and go to sea. When fifteen years old, he was apprenticed to a great merchant of Lynn, who paid little attention to him; but he got away to France in attendance on the second son of Peregrine Lord Willoughby, who was going to join his brother in Paris. There the boys did not want John Smith, and paid him ten shillings (of his own money) to leave them. He served in France till 1596, when peace was concluded; and for the next three years in the Low Countries. He then went to Scotland with letters of introduction given to him in Paris, was hospitably used, but proving himself no courtier, went back to Willoughby. There, weary of much company, he withdrew into the woods, lived in a leafy lodge of his own making, read Machiavelli and Marcus Aurelius, and practised lance exercise on a horse that his man daily

brought him. Then he was off again to the Low Countries, aged about twenty-one.

Soon afterwards Smith went to sea with four Frenchmen, of whom one professed to be a great lord, and the other three to be his servants—sharpers all. They robbed him by device and left him, when they came ashore, so poor that he had to sell his cloak to pay his passage; but he found liberal lords in Brittany, saw many towns, and after a while embarked for Italy.

The ship he went in was in danger from storm when under the Isle of St. Mary, near Nice, and Smith was thrown overboard as cause of the bad weather, because he was an English heretic. He got ashore upon the island, where were no inhabitants but kine and goats. He was taken off by another ship. They sailed along the African coast to Egypt: thence by way of Asia Minor they reached the entrance of the Adriatic. There they met with an argosy of Venice that fired upon them when they asked to speak. The captain of the little craft of two hundred tons returned fire on the argosy of more than twice its size, and after a perilous fight disabled it, and took from it much portable treasure. Smith's share of the prize-money put him in good case when he was landed at Antibes, in Piedmont.

Thence he embarked for Leghorn, and went through the chief cities of Italy to Rome, where he saw the sights and saluted Father Parsons. Then he travelled through more cities of Italy, and by the broken coast of Albania and Dalmatia and the mainland of poor Slavonia, till he came to Grätz, in Styria, the seat of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, who afterwards became Emperor of Germany. There he found Englishmen, who helped him to enlist in a regiment for service against the Turks.

They went to relieve the strong town of Olmapagh, closely besieged by twenty thousand Turks. Smith showed

how he could speak with the town from the heights, seven miles distant, by telegraphing with three equidistant torch flames. The townspeople interpreted this system of signal, and read from them the words: "On Thursday, at night, we will charge on the east; at the alarum sally you." At the time of the alarum, Smith had caused to be tied to lines, armed with powder, two or three thousand pieces of match, upon a side where there was no attack intended. They all went off together, like a musket volley from an army, and caused the Turks to hasten in that direction, while their camp was stormed and taken. A third of their army on that side of the town was slain; many of the rest were drowned; all fled. Two thousand Christian soldiers were put into the town, the Turks raised the siege, and John Smith, for his service, was made captain of a troop of two hundred and fifty horse. That was in 1601, when he was twenty-two years old.

Among the adventures of those wars, in the next year (1602) Smith tells us that he accepted a challenge from the Turks besieged in Caniza, where the Christians spent a month in entrenching, and there was a pause in the attack. The challenge was to any captain in the Christian army. "To delight the ladies, who did long to see some court-like pastime, the Lord Turbashaw did defy any captain that had the command of a company, who durst combat with him for his head." As there were many volunteers, the choice was made by lot, and the lot fell upon Captain John Smith, to whom, in the presence of the ladies on the walls, the Lord Turbashaw lost his head. A friend of the vanquished Turk came forward afterwards to avenge him, and lost his head too. Then Captain Smith desired that the ladies should know that he was not so much enamoured of their servants' heads but that they might have them back, with his head also, if anyone would come and win it on the like conditions. A Turk, who accepted this challenge,

enabled John Smith to present three heads to his general, going with them in triumphal procession with a guard of six thousand, and three spare horses before each head carried on a lance. The general embraced Captain John Smith, and gave him a fair horse, richly furnished, a scimitar and belt, with three hundred ducats. He was advanced also to the rank of sergeant-major in his regiment. When Prince Sigismund heard of this achievement he gave, in December, 1603, to John Smith, by patent under his own hand and seal, three Turks' heads in a shield for arms, and a yearly pension of three hundred ducats. The grant of arms was affirmed and recorded in the English Heralds' office by Sir William Segar in 1625.

Meanwhile, at the battle of Rottenton, on the eighteenth of November, 1602, in which many friends of Sigismund were slain, Captain Smith was among those taken prisoners and sold as slaves. He was bought by a bashaw, who sent him to his mistress at Constantinople, into which city he was marched with other slaves, all chained together by the neck in twenties, for delivery to their respective purchasers. Smith's mistress learnt enough of him to like him, and sent him by the Black Sea to her brother, a bashaw, in Tartary. She let her brother see a kind intention towards Smith, "when time should make her master of herself." The unkind brother, resenting this, had John Smith stripped an hour after his arrival, his hair shaved from his head, beard also shaved off, and clothed him in an irritating hair shirt, with an iron collar riveted about his neck.

Then come descriptions of the ways of Turks and Crim-Tartars, in four entertaining chapters. Smith was put as thresher at a grange belonging to the cruel bashaw, who, as oft as he used to visit his granges, took occasion so to beat, spurn, and revile his victim, that Smith, "forgetting all reason," he says, beat out the

bashaw's brains with his threshing bat, clothed himself in his clothes, hid his body under the straw, filled his knapsack with corn, shut the doors, mounted a horse, and ran into the desert at all adventure.

Captain John Smith then tells how he found his way to Russia, and passed through Hungary to Prague. There he found Prince Sigismund, who repaired his losses with fifteen hundred ducats, and gave him a pass, with which he went through many parts of Germany, and France, and Spain, until he crossed from Gibraltar to Tangier, because he heard that there were wars in Barbary.

He tells of what he saw in Morocco, describes Muley Hamet, the great lord of Barbary, who drew his best artificers from England and gave them ten shillings a day, linen, woollen, silks, and what they would for apparel, and custom free to transport or import what they would. After telling what he saw and heard in this part of the world, which Smith visited in 1604, he adds a chapter on the strange discoveries and observations of the Portuguese in Africa.

Smith left Barbary by accident. He was spending a pleasant evening with his friend Captain Merham, on board his English man-of-war. They amused themselves until it was too late to go ashore. He slept on board, and in the night a storm rose that obliged Captain Merham to slip cable and anchor. He put to sea, where it was not long before he was engaged in a desperate fight with two Spanish warships, the description of which is the last of John Smith's travellers' tales in this record of adventures of his youth to the age of twenty-five, in the year 1604. He, however, goes on in the same book with a continuation of his General Historie of Virginia, the Summer Islands, and New England.

John Smith's first publication was in the form of a long newsletter, "Newes from Virginia," called on a later title-

page "A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of note as hath hapned in Virginia, since the first planting of that Collony, which is now resident in the south part thereof, till the last return from thence." This was published in 1612.

In the same year there was printed by the hand-press of the University of Oxford "A Map of Virginia, With a Description of the Countrey, the Commodities, People, Government, and Religion, written by Captaine Smith, sometimes Governour of the Countrey," whereunto was annexed a compilation from the writings of others who had described the proceedings of those colonies since their first departure from England.

Then followed, in 1616, year of the death of Shakespeare, an account of the northern colony, as "A Description of New England: or the Observations and Discoueries of Captain Iohn Smith (Admirall of that Country) in the North of America, in the year of our Lord 1614: with the successe of sixe ships that went the next yeare, 1615; and the accidents befell him among the French men of warre: with the proofe of the present benefit this Countrey affoords; whither this present yeare, 1616, eight voluntary Ships are gone to make further tryall."

Other writings followed setting forth New England's trials and "the General History of Virginia," in successive books, compiled from the best authorities by one who had himself a large place in the story, and who personally knew most of the other witnesses.*

* The works of Captain John Smith, gathered in 1884 by Professor Edward Arber into a thick volume of his "English Scholars' Library," are invaluable as a record of events connected with the birth of New England and the first years of its life. They abound in incident, and f sometimes Captain Smith tells what look like travellers' tales about himself, other contemporary narratives, of which there were not a few, confirm faith in his trustworthiness as lively chronicler of facts and

New England and the Pilgrim Fathers may now prompt us to bring Laud into the story.

William Laud.

William Laud, son of a clothier at Reading, was born in 1573, and educated at Reading Free School and St. John's College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship in 1594. He was small of stature, eager and confident of spirit. His health was very bad before and after the time of his taking his M.A. degree, in July, 1598. He was ordained priest in 1601, and in 1602, in a divinity lecture read at St. John's College, he defended against Puritan opinions the Church as Elizabeth established it. About six weeks after the Queen's death, William Laud, then in his thirtieth year, was chosen proctor for his University, and took part in the "Answer of the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, etc., in the University of Oxford, to the Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England desiring Reformation." Towards the close of the same year Laud was appointed chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire. In July, 1604, he took the degree of B.D., and in the public exercise on that occasion maintained — his opponents said, with arguments drawn from the writings of Cardinal Bellarmine—the necessity of baptism to salvation, and that there could be no true Church without bishops.

In December, 1605, on St. Stephen's Day, Laud officiated at the marriage of the divorced Lady Rich—Sidney's Stella—with her old and constant lover, formerly Sir Charles Blount, then Charles Lord Mountjoy, and now created Earl of Devonshire for his conduct in the Irish wars. James was offended by the marriage of a divorced wife in her husband's lifetime; the Earl of Devonshire was in disgrace at court, and Laud lost royal favour.

opinions, and details of what he saw. Professor Arber thinks, therefore, that Captain John Smith is entitled to credit when he tells tales of himself which we may now prefer to take with a few grains of salt.

A sermon preached in 1606, at St. Mary's Church, before his University, revived the charge of Popery against his doctrine in church matters, and Peter Heylin says Laud told him that it was then reckoned a heresy to speak to him, and a suspicion of heresy to salute him in the street. Joseph Hall, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, wrote to Laud at this time: "I would I knew where to find you, then I could tell how to take direct arms, whereas now I must pore and conjecture. To-day you are in the tents of the Romanists, to-morrow in ours; the next day between both; against both. Our adversaries think you ours, we theirs, your conscience finds you with both, and neither; I flatter you not. This of yours is the worst of all tempers."

In November, 1607, Laud, aged thirty-four, received his first preferment—the vicarage of Stamford, in Northamptonshire, and in the April following, the advowson of North Kilworth, in Leicestershire. In the summer of 1608 he proceeded to the degree of D.D., and was made chaplain to Dr. Neile, Bishop of Rochester. To be near him he exchanged his living of North Kilworth, in October, 1609, for the rectory of West Tilbury, in Essex. In May, 1610, he was presented by the Bishop of Rochester to the living of Cuckstone, in Kent. He then resigned his fellowship in St. John's, and lived at Cuckstone, but the place was unhealthy, and he was laid up with ague. Bishop Neile was translated to Lichfield, and before leaving Rochester obtained from the king for his friend Laud a prebend's stall in Westminster. Dr. Neile's successor at Rochester was another hearty friend of Laud—his old tutor, Dr. Buckeridge, who left the Presidency of St. John's College to take the bishopric. Dr. Buckeridge and Dr. Neile exerted all their influence to secure Dr. Laud's election to the vacant presidency, and obtained it in May, 1611, against strong opposition based on the opinion that Laud was "a Papist at heart, and cordially addicted to Popery." King

James presently appointed Dr. Laud one of his chaplains.

After the death, in November, 1610, of Archbishop Richard Bancroft, he was succeeded in the primacy by George Abbot, a man moderate of temper and a strict Calvinist in his opinions, who reversed, as far as he could, the policy by which Bancroft had driven many of the clergy from the Church. The new primate considered Laud's opinions too near to those of the Roman Church. It was he, indeed, who, in opposing Laud's election to the Presidency of St. John's, had described him as a Papist at heart. Laud was neglected at court for some time, but his friend Dr. Neile gave him a prebend in Lincoln, and in December, 1615, the archdeaconry of Huntingdon, while in 1616 King James made Dr. Laud Dean of Gloucester. Dr. Miles Smith, one of the producers of King James's authorised version of the Bible, was then Bishop of Gloucester, and openly expressed his indignation at the proceedings of the new dean in changing the place of the communion-table, and so ordering the services that tumult arose against Popish revival, the civil authority had to interfere, and some rioters had to be sent to prison. Laud then returned to court, and took part in action against the Oxford Puritans.

In 1617 Dr. Laud went with King James to Scotland, and urged the enforcement of a Liturgy upon the Scotch. Five Articles were then forced by King James on an unwilling people. These were—kneeling at sacrament, observation of Christmas and other holy days, episcopal confirmations, private baptism, and private communion. In June, 1618, King James's declaration concerning lawful sports and games on the Lord's Day was also introduced into Scotland. It would need force to supersede among the Scottish people one prejudice by another, but this was not tried till the reign of Charles. The outward

conflict was about symbols that many on both sides held to be in themselves indifferent, but to the ignorant the symbols were in place of the things signified. "Yet was there great confusion," wrote David Calderwood, "great confusion and disorder in many kirks, by reason of the late innovation. In some kirks the people went out and left the minister alone; in some, when the minister would have them to kneel, the ignorant and simple sort cried out, 'The danger, if any be, light upon your own soul, and not upon ours.' Some, when they could not get the sacrament sitting, departed, and besought God to be judge between them and the minister. It is not to be passed over in silence, how that when John Lauder, minister at Cockburnspeth, was reaching the bread till (*i.e.* to) one kneeling, a black dog start up to snatch it out of his hand."

King James used to say to Laud that he had given him nothing but the Deanery of Gloucester, "a shell without a kernel"; but in 1621 Laud was nominated to the bishopric of St. David's. Archbishop Abbot in that year, while on a visit to Lord Zouch at Bramhill, by chance hit one of the gamekeepers, who was concealed in a thicket, when he had levelled his crossbow at a deer. The man died, and although the Archbishop, deeply afflicted, was cleared of blame by a commission, and although he received under the Great Seal a full pardon, declaring him capable of exercising his ecclesiastical authority as if the accident had not occurred, yet Laud and three other nominated bishops objected to be consecrated by him. The act of consecration was therefore performed by five bishops appointed to act in the place of the Primate.

It was in the very year in which Laud was thus made bishop that the "Pilgrim Fathers" established themselves at New Plymouth; and if any think it strange that a good man, engaged in intense controversy about sacred things, could err as Laud erred in attempting to enforce that unity

within the Church of Christ for which all true hearts laboured and still labour, let him remember that the Pilgrim Fathers were good men, and that in the free church which they crossed the Atlantic to secure, they were, after a few years, banishing those fellow-Christians whom they termed heretics. One of their leaders was exclaiming, "God forbid, that our love of the truth should be grown so cold that we should tolerate errors!" Another averred that "to say men ought to have liberty of conscience is impious ignorance." Another urged that "Religion admits of no eccentric notions." Every member of the congregation of a tolerant Baptist of Rhode Island was fined twenty or thirty pounds, and one who refused to pay the fine was whipped unmercifully. There was a fine on absence from "the ministry of the Word"; to deny that any book in the Old or New Testament was throughout the infallible Word of God was blasphemy, punishable by fine and flogging, and in case of obstinacy, by exile or death. A devout woman, hearing of such things, travelled all the way from London to warn the leaders of the new church against persecution, and they flogged her. She was sentenced to twenty stripes. At home, when Laud's friends ceased to be the persecutors, they became the persecuted. Each party was full of zeal in either character, and we can only look with equal eye, whether argument be of the seventeenth or nineteenth century, on imperfections common to humanity. John Robinson uttered a great truth when, in his farewell to the little band that left Delft in the *Mayflower*, he said, "The Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of His Holy Word." Are we not waiting yet for the acceptance of its leading truth, that of the three abiding virtues of the Christian the greatest is charity?

CHAPTER XI.

SHAKESPEARE'S "KING HENRY VIII."

SHAKESPEARE'S play of "King Henry VIII." was first printed in the folio of 1623. On the 12th of February, 1604 (new style, 1605), there is this memorandum in the books of the Stationers' Company: "King Henry VIII."

"Nath. Butter.] Yf he get good allowance for the Enterlude of K. Henry 8th before he begyn to print yt, and then procure the Wardens' hand to yt for the entrance of yt, he is to have the same for his copy."

This shows that there was felt to be some risk of official interference with a play that dealt with the royalty of England in critical times not yet beyond the reach of living memory. A man of seventy-five in February, 1605, was a youth of seventeen when Henry VIII. died, but he would only have been a child of three in the year of the christening of Elizabeth, with which Shakespeare closed his play. The "good allowance" was obtained; for Nathaniel Butter did publish in that year (1605)—with a woodcut of Henry VIII. upon its title-page—a play of King Henry VIII., called, "When you See me, you Know me; or, the famous Chronicle Historie of King Henrie the Eight, with the berth and vertuous life of Edward Prince of Wales. As it was playd by the high and mightie Prince of Wales his servants." It is clear, therefore, that the entry made in February, 1605, referred to this play, which was

written by Samuel Rowley, and printed again for Nathaniel Butter in 1613 and in 1621, while there was a fourth edition in 1632. Thus there were three editions of Samuel Rowley's play before the first printing of Shakespeare's in the first folio. It is an artless play, in which the young Prince Edward and Will Summers, the king's jester, are much dwelt upon; there are indeed two such characters to delight the audience, for Wolsey's fool, Patch, is another of the persons of the comedy. It might even be said that there are three fools, his boisterous Majesty, King Henry VIII., being the third.

What evidence is there, then, as to the time when Shakespeare wrote his play of "King Henry VIII."?

Burning of the Globe Theatre.

None. On the 29th of June, 1613, the first Globe Theatre, about twenty years after its erection, was burnt down by the firing of the thatched roof over its stage during the performance of a play clearly identified by Sir Henry Wotton's description, and by references in a contemporary ballad upon "The Lamentable Burning of the Globe Play-house on Saint Peter's Day." We learn that the discharge of chambers referred to was that in the fourth scene of the First Act, when, during Wolsey's banquet at York House, the king is supposed to be landing without, and the stage direction is "Drum and Trumpet. Chambers discharged." Chambers were shallow bombs, of little or no use for discharging shot, but used for firing powder on occasions of rejoicing. The old Globe was a summer theatre, open to the sky, but over the stage there was a thatched roofing to protect the actors and contribute to the framing of the groups they formed. Sir Henry Wotton, writing to his nephew on the 2nd of July, said, "Now to let matters of State sleep; I will entertain you at the present with what hath happened this week at the Bank-side. The king's players had a new play, called 'All is True,' representing

some principal pieces of the reign of Henry VIII., which was set forth with many extraordinary circumstances of pomp and majesty, even to the matting of the stage; the Knights of the Order, with their Georges and Garter, the guards with their embroidered coats, and the like: sufficient in truth, within a while, to make greatness very familiar, if not ridiculous. Now King Henry, making a mask at the Cardinal Wolsey's house, and certain cannons being shot off at his entry, some of the paper, or other stuff wherewith one of them was stopped, did light on the thatch, where, being thought at first but an idle smoke, and their eyes more attentive to the show, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, consuming, within an hour, the whole house to the very grounds. This was the fatal period of that virtuous fabric, wherein yet nothing did perish but wood and straw, and a few forsaken cloaks: only one man had his breeches set on fire, that would perhaps have broiled him if he had not, by the benefit of a provident wit, put it out with bottle ale."

Here, then, is clear identification of the scene in Shakespeare's play which gave occasion to the firing of the thatch. There is allusion in the ballad to the trial of Queen Katharine:—

"Away ran knights, away ran lords,
Away ran Burbage too:
Some lost their hats, their cloaks and swords,
For there was such ado.
Old Tooley, careful of his bundle,
Was forc'd to fly with Harry Cundell.
O, sorrow! &c.

"Away ran poets, eight or nine,
Who would take no denial;
Away ran Lady Katharine,
Nor waited out her trial.
Such trial was not in her part;
Escape was all she had at heart.
O, sorrow! &c.'

A letter from John Chamberlain, dated the 8th of July, said, "The burning of the Globe, or playhouse, on the Bankside on St. Peter's Day, cannot escape you; which fell out by a peal of chambers that, I know not on what occasion, were to be used in the play—the tampin or stopple of one of them, lighting in the thatch that covered the house, burnt it to the ground in less than two hours, with a dwelling-house adjoining, and it was a great marvel and fair grace of God that the people had so little harm, having but two narrow doors to get out."

Ben Jonson was, perhaps, among those who escaped, for he may speak literally and not only with poetic vision, when he says in his "Execration to Vulcan," upon the burning of his own library, that he "saw" also this one among the fiery god's misdeeds:—

"But O, those reeds! Thy mere disdain of them
Made thee beget that cruel stratagem,
Which some are pleased to style but thy mad prank,
Against the Globe, the glory of the Bank;
Which, though it were the fort of the whole parish,
Flanked with a ditch, and forced out of a marish,
I saw with two poor chambers taken in,
And razed, ere thought could urge, 'This might have been.'"

Another account of the burning of the Globe Theatre is in the edition of Stow's "Annales" (first published in 1580), which appeared, "continued and augmented by Edmond Howes," in 1615. Howes writes of 1613: "Also upon St. Peter's Day last the playhouse or theatre, called the Globe, upon the Bankside, near London, by negligent discharging of a piece of ordnance close to the south side thereof the thatch took fire, and the wind suddenly dispersed the flame round about, and in a very short space the whole building was quite consumed, and no man hurt; the house being filled with

people to behold the play, viz., of 'Henry the Eighth:' and the next spring it was new builded in far fairer manner than before."

Shakespeare, at the time of the burning of the Globe, had entered his fiftieth year, and had lately retired to Stratford. He died only three years afterwards at the age of fifty-two. Sir Henry Wotton speaks of "All is True" as a new play, but he writes as one who has no great interest in the stage. He was not yet made Provost of Eton, but was much employed in missions to Germany and Italy; and it was he who had then lately described an ambassador as "a good man sent to lie abroad for the sake of his country." The seventeen-year-old Princess Elizabeth had been married on the 14th of February in that year (1613) to the seventeen-year-old Elector Palatine. Before they left England on the 25th of April, there had been pomp, masques, and plays. The MS. Register of Lord Harrington, King James's treasurer of the chambers, shows that they had seen several of Shakespeare's plays acted under altered names: Part I. of "Henry IV." as "Hotspur," Part II. as "Sir John Falstaff," "Much Ado about Nothing" as "Benedict and Beatrix," "Julius Cæsar" as "Cæsar's Tragedy." A new name for "King Henry VIII." ("All is True") might be enough to lead Sir Henry Wotton to the belief that it was a new play.

"King Henry VIII."

If really new in 1613, "King Henry VIII." was probably the last play written by Shakespeare. I am disposed to agree with Johnson, Steevens, and Malone, in thinking that it was written towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth; but this is not proved, as they suppose it to be proved, by showing good reason for belief that the references to James I. in the prophecy of Cranmer at the close of the play are interpolations. The reign of James was outside the conception of the poet; but the

reign of Elizabeth had close and direct relation to it. If Shakespeare wrote the play in 1612, James would have occurred to him then as little as in 1601 or 1602. However, in 1613 the King's Players thought they saw good opportunity for paying compliments to James I., but got their compliment so clumsily inserted that King James follows Elizabeth before her death is looked forward to as inevitable, and this event actually appears as something that will happen after the accession of James! That there is interpolation I have not a doubt; but I suspect that one part of the change consisted in a transference to James of some lines written by Shakespeare of Elizabeth, by simply writing "he" for "she." Raleigh's fair dream, that was not all a dream, of another England far across the seas, of which Virginia should be the first and fairest province, was an association with Elizabeth's reign that admitted of easy transfer to James, who, as we have seen, gave letters patent to a London and Plymouth company that settled colonists on the James River and in New England. But it was Elizabeth, inspired by Raleigh and by the achievements of her mariners, who first gave her heart to the conception of a greater England with realms beyond the sea that should open sources of wealth like those which had added to the power of Spain. She it was who gave its name to Virginia, and heaped upon Raleigh wealth that he spent in furnishing his costly expeditions; she granted patents in 1585 to private adventurers who sought to trade with Barbary, in 1588 to adventurers who sought to establish trade in Guinea, and in 1592 to adventurers to the south of Sierra Leone. That aim of hers had a just place in Cranmer's prophecy, of which the latter part would read thus, when cleared of the intruded reference to James:—

> "Truth shall nurse her,
> Holy and heavenly thoughts still counsel her:
> She shall be loved and feared: her own shall bless her.

Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,
And hang their heads with sorrow : good grows with her :
In her days every man shall eat in safety
Under his own vine what he plants, and sing
The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours :
God shall be truly known ; and those about her
From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,
And by these claim their greatness, not by blood.
Wherever the bright sun of Heaven shall shine,
Her honour and the greatness of her name
Shall be, and make new nations. She shall flourish,
And, like a mountain cedar, reach her branches
To all the plains about her : our children's children
Shall see this and bless Heaven.
K. Henry. Thou speakest wonders.
Cranmer. She shall be, to the happiness of England,
An aged princess ; many days shall see her,
And yet no day without a deed to crown it.
Would I had known no more ! but she must die,
She must, the saints must have her ; yet a virgin,
A most unspotted lily shall she pass
To the ground, and all the world shall mourn her.
K. Henry. O, Lord Archbishop,
Thou hast made me now a man ; never, before
This happy child, did I get anything :
This oracle of comfort hath so pleased me
That when I am in heaven I shall desire
To see what this child does, and praise my Maker."

By what conceivable sequence of ideas could any poet, good or bad, have thrust King James I. into the very middle of this passage? The birth of Elizabeth, her labour towards Peace and Reformation, were the direct outcome of the wild tossing of human fortunes which has been shown in the substance of the play. There is a picture of the instability of earthly glory, the rising and the breaking of the waves of fortune ; but the aim is not to leave the mind impressed with a vague sense of human life as a wild sea on which the just and unjust battle with the waves, or sink beneath them, with hope that looks only to some other world

than this. The last thought is of God's Providence directing all. Out of the fitful passions of the king there came the child through whom the nation was to rise hereafter to a higher life. It is another way of showing the truth spoken at the close of "Hamlet"—

> "There's a Divinity that shapes our ends,
> Rough hew them how we will."

But it is only Elizabeth that belonged to the play as good sprung out of evil, a blessing born of the events that seemed a curse upon the lives of men. The whole prophecy uttered at her baptism is the fitting close of the poem, for it breathes the faith that

> "All is best, though we oft doubt
> What the unsearchable dispose
> Of highest Wisdom brings about,
> And ever best found in the end."

James I. can have no poetical relation to the play, for he is no outcome of its events. He has, from the poet's point of view, no more right than the Grand Turk to a place in Cranmer's prophecy. This is equally true whether the play were written in 1602 or in 1612, under Elizabeth or under James. No argument against the later date of the play can be drawn, therefore, from this interpolation.

Argument for the later date has been drawn, not unreasonably, from the versification. Our first blank verse was written in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. by the Earl of Surrey. It was imitated from an Italian unrhymed measure, at a time when various forms of unrhymed verse were being tried in Italy, and it consisted of ten syllables of iambic measure, every second syllable being accented as in this line—

Blank Verse.

> "The greát | est món | arch nów | alíve | may glór | y."

Here there is a vowel over. In Italian that was not easily avoidable, because a large number of words in Italian end

with unaccented vowels. The Italian verse which Surrey imitated did, therefore, close with that weak eleventh syllable. Surrey dropped it because most English words have lost their final vowels, and so his blank verse was ten-syllabled, as in this line—

"His róy | al sélf | in júdg | ment cómes | to heár."

Our earliest blank verse took few liberties with the accent, kept to its ten syllables, and usually brought a clause or sentence to its close at the closing of a line of verse. It was Marlowe who turned altogether from the use of rhyme in plays, and with a vigorous genius not only preferred blank verse, but, about the year 1586, began the development of its great powers of poetical expression. The career of Marlowe as a dramatist extended over seven years. During the greater part of this time Shakespeare was a beginner among the players, observing them and strengthening in power. At the close of those seven years he had become an original dramatist; using blank verse at first with no more freedom in changes of accent, in the use of eleventh syllables, in the running of sentences over the ends of lines, and making skilful breaks within the lines, than he had learnt of Marlowe. But gradually the powers of blank verse grew under his hand. He made freer use of unaccented eleventh syllables, of variations in the accent, and advanced in that which Milton recognised as a main source of its power, "the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another." This freedom grew, and in its full growth produced what some regard as a third period in Shakespeare's versification, when modifications of accent, added syllables, and sentences variously interlaced are much more numerous than in his early plays. Now, there is no play of Shakespeare's in which eleven-syllabled lines are so frequent as they are in "King Henry VIII." One very able critic has observed that the unaccented eleventh syllables in "King Henry VIII." are

often detached monosyllables, a peculiarity that distinguishes this from other plays of Shakespeare, and, in the opinion of that critic, proves it to have been partly written by John Fletcher. It is noticeable, however, that this feature is most marked in those passages of the play which are among the finest, and in which the genius of Shakespeare is most surely felt, as in this well-known passage, where, for convenience of illustration, in each line the syllable beyond the tenth is printed in italics—

> "So, farewell to the little good you bear *me*.
> Farewell! a long farewell, to all my great*ness!*
> This is the state of man: to-day he puts *forth*
> The tender leaves of hope, to-morrow bloss*oms*,
> And bears his blushing honours thick upon *him;*
> The third day comes a frost, a killing frost;
> And,—when he thinks, good easy man, full sure*ly*
> His greatness is a-ripening,—nips his root,
> And then he falls, as I do. I have ven*tured*,
> Like little wanton boys that swim on blad*ders*,
> This many summers in a sea of glor*y*,
> But far beyond my depth: my high-blown pride
> At length broke under me, and now has left *me*
> Weary, and old with service, to the mer*cy*
> Of a rude stream, that must for ever hide *me*.
> Vain pomp and glory of this world, I hate *ye;*
> I feel my heart new opened."

Here it may be observed that the only lines which close firmly with an accented syllable are the two that paint the "killing frost" that "nips the root," and one that expresses the "high-blown pride" now fallen. The reader will observe especially the use of this measure in speeches like this of Wolsey's in his fall, or that of Buckingham before his execution. It breaks the pomp of each verse at the close, and gives to it a dying fall that suits the theme of the whole play, the broken pomps of life, the wave that rolls to its full height, then bows its crest and falls. If this be so, may we

not say that, before the death of Elizabeth, Shakespeare was artist enough to suit his measure to his theme?

What was that theme? Wholly unlike the mirth and noise of targets, the fellow in long motley coat, the "fool and fight" referred to by contrast in the prologue. Prologue and epilogue were written, doubtless, by some other hand for the production of the play in 1613; and the prologue seems to have been meant as warning to the audience that this "King Henry VIII." was Shakespeare's, and not Samuel Rowley's. Rowley made of the subject such comedy as the prologue points at. Shakespeare's treatment of it was profoundly earnest and religious.

The whole play tells us of the seeming chances and the sudden changes of this life, and that our only trust is in God. Henry VIII. stands in the centre as an earthly god. —Fortune. He smiles, men prosper; if he frown, they die. Scene after scene shows the rise and fall of human fortunes as of waves of the great sea, and each fall—Buckingham's, Katharine's, Wolsey's—leads to the same thought—

> "Farewell
> The hopes of Court! My hopes in Heaven do dwell."

Through four Acts this is illustrated, not only by the main events, but by all incidental details. In the Fifth Act a new note is struck; we are shown that not alone to men singly, but to men in nations, to the race of man, the last and sure trust is in God, who turns our evil into good. He guides the nations in their darkest hours; his love is over all. The whole play of "King Henry VIII." breathes a spirit that might be expressed in words from the 39th Psalm: "Man walketh in a vain shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain; he heapeth up riches and cannot tell who shall gather them. And now, Lord, what is my Hope? truly my hope is even in thee."

"*King Henry VIII.*"

The fall with which the play opens is that of the Duke of Buckingham, and the first note struck is of the vanity of earthly pomp in a description of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. That meeting between King Henry and the King of France was in 1520; and Buckingham, at the height of his prosperity, but on the brink of ruin, is supposed to have been in France, kept by an ague from the meeting of the kings, at which history says he was present. Shakespeare meant that his play should open with a picture of the vain pomp and glory of the world. Its vanity the dialogue of the scene shows, for the peace it celebrated was a false peace, and the rich lords had been sent thither by Wolsey that they might break their fortunes by selling manors to maintain their state. The scheming of Wolsey, the distrust of him by English nobles, the disdain of Buckingham, and Wolsey's will to take revenge for it, are all brought to mind before we are shown in action Wolsey passing in his state, "who in his passage fixeth his eye on Buckingham, and Buckingham on him, both full of disdain." The words of Buckingham after Wolsey has passed, which I here print

> "A beggar's *look*
> Outworths a noble's blood,"

stand in the first folio "a beggar's booke"; one editor reads "a beggar's brood." The whole attention of Wolsey and Buckingham is on the look of disdain wherewith each dares the other. Wolsey turns to his secretary for the paper that will bring his antagonist to the scaffold, where he shall "lessen this big look." Buckingham sees deadly purpose in the fixed eyes of Wolsey, and that this "beggar's look" is more than a noble's blood is worth—menaces death—and dwells on the same thought after the words of Norfolk's reply, saying—

> "I read in 's looks
> Matters against me;"

and again, "He's gone to the king; I'll follow and outstare him." Then follows immediately the arrest of Buckingham and of his son-in-law, Lord Abergavenny. Buckingham turns to Heaven in his fall—

> "The will of Heaven be done
> In this and all things."

Abergavenny, when his arrest follows, resigns himself in like manner, and gives emphasis by the repetition,

"As the Duke said,
The will of Heaven be done, and the king's pleasure
By me obeyed."

In the next scene, in the Council Chamber, the breaking of this wave of earthly fortune is continued; Wolsey's wave is still high. "The king enters, leaning on the Cardinal's shoulder." Katharine's wave is still high; when she enters "the king rises from his state, takes her up, kisses and places her by him." The two chief examples of the instability of earthly glory—Wolsey and Katharine—are now face to face. Katharine is made throughout the play as near to an angel as she can be and yet be a woman, and a Spanish princess too. She pleads against exactions burdening the people, and puts in warning words of mercy while Wolsey presses his revenge against Buckingham to the death. But "there is one end to the just and to the unjust;" there is no sure foothold on the paths of this world's wealth. Buckingham is under the king's frown, and is sent to trial as a traitor for proud words reported by the men of his own household whom he trusted most. Then we pass from the fall of Buckingham to the rising of the wave that will bear Anne Boleyn to her crowning. The scene (perhaps not written by Shakespeare) seems to have no aim but the avoidance of a direct passing from Wolsey in the Council Chamber to Wolsey as luxurious host in York Place. Then follows the banqueting, to which the king comes masked, his arrival being announced by that discharge of chambers which set fire to the Globe Theatre in June, 1613. Here the king takes Anne Boleyn for the dance. He is passionately occupied with her, and when Wolsey would interpose a little check by withdrawing his impetuous guest to the banqueting room, his Majesty has a meaning of his own in his answer to the Cardinal's

"Your grace,
I fear, with dancing is a little heated.
K. Hen. I fear, *too much*."

So to the feast in the next chamber, and then back to the dance, and then

"Let's dream
Who's best in favour."

Thus in the First Act we have the beginning of the fall of Buckingham, and the beginning of the rise of Anne Boleyn.

In the Second Act we see the completed fall of Buckingham,

the continued rise of Anne, and the beginning of the fall of Katharine.

Two gentlemen meet to see Buckingham pass to his execution. They will meet again in the play to see Anne pass to her coronation. Their dialogue describes Buckingham's trial, but as it continues it illustrates the clouds of ill-will gathering in Wolsey's earthly heaven. Buckingham passes—"tipstaves before him; the axe with its edge towards him." His last words are pathetic, with that dying fall in the metre which we find afterwards marked as strongly in the speeches of the fallen Wolsey. Buckingham is passing out of the vain shadow; his one last hope is in God. Of those who loved him he asks that they will make of their prayers one sweet sacrifice, and lift his soul to Heaven. "Lead on, o' God's name." Forgiving all his enemies, he bids Lovell commend him to the king:—

> "And if he speak of Buckingham, pray, tell him
> You met him half in Heaven."

Then follows one of those touches of poetic irony frequent in Shakespeare. It is applied, of course, to the theme of the play, the vanity of earthly pomp:

> "*Vaux.* Prepare there!
> The Duke is coming: see the barge be ready;
> And fit it with such furniture as suits
> The greatness of his person.
> *Buck.* Nay, Sir Nicholas,
> Let it alone: my state will now but mock me.
> When I came hither I was Lord High Constable
> And Duke of Buckingham; now poor Edward Bohun."

In the close of the speech of which these are the opening lines, we hear Buckingham's last words. They contain the expression of that faith which Shakespeare planned the last Act of "King Henry VIII." to confirm: "Heaven has an end in all." They close with the fallen man's last prayer, "I have done, and God forgive me." It is an echo of the Psalmist:—"And now, Lord, what is my hope? Truly my hope is even in thee."

The next words of the gentlemen who have seen Buckingham pass to the scaffold, while his last utterance is still in their ears, carry our minds on without pause to the breaking of the next great wave of fortune:—

"1 *Gent.* O, this is full of pity.—Sir, it calls,
I fear, too many curses on their heads
That were the authors.
2 *Gent.* If the Duke be guiltless
'Tis full of woe; yet I can give you inkling
Of an ensuing evil, if it fall,
Greater than this."

At once we pass to the beginning of the fall of Katharine, still blended with suggestion of the practices of Wolsey:—

"The Cardinal
Will have his will, and she must fall."

Katharine in this dialogue is "the good Queen;" Wolsey, a man in whom ambition begets malice.

The second scene opens with illustration of Wolsey's overbearing pride, and the ill-will of the nobility towar ls him. But he is strong in the king's favour. He has brought Cardinal Campeius to join in trial of the question of Katharine's divorce, which the new fancy for Anne Boleyn has caused the king to be impatient for. The lords (Norfolk and Suffolk) propose to try their skill with the king in opposition to the influence of Wolsey; but they are chidden away as dogs. Wolsey is master of the situation. Henry's "Who's there?" before Wolsey enters a moment later, is another fierce roar of the angry lion as he hears steps again approaching. But the tone changes to the warmest welcome when his minister enters with Campeius. It is, rough and loud, "Who's there?" then, soft and low,

"My good Lord Cardinal? O, my Wolsey,
The quiet of my wounded conscience."

Wolsey's glance at the two lords, as he says,

"I would your grace would give us but an hour
Of private conference,"

produces from King Henry a loud and rough dismissal of them: "We are busy. Go."

When the Cardinals arrange for the trial of the question of the king's divorce from Katharine, because she had been his brother Arthur's wife, we have an incidental touch, showing how minor details

of a poet's work are brought into relation with the whole design. We see the beginning of the rise of Gardiner thus indicated. Henry has taken to him, and made him his secretary; and when he thinks of sending to tell the queen what is purposed by the coming of Campeius, it occurs to him to send by Gardiner, whom he misses. He abruptly asks, "Where's Gardiner?" but Wolsey goes on with his discourse and takes no notice of the question. He gains nothing, however, by that, for the great Cardinal himself is presently compelled to demean himself by going to fetch Gardiner.

> "Cardinal,
> Pr'ythee call Gardiner to me, my new secretary:
> I find him a fit fellow."

Wolsey brings him, and exchanges words with him to keep him in subordination to himself; but they are few, for his impatient Majesty breaks in with his "Come hither, Gardiner." While the king speaks apart with Gardiner, whose wave of fortune is upon the rise, a little dialogue between Campeius and Wolsey points incidentally to the predecessor upon whose fall Gardiner has risen:—

> "*Cam.* My Lord of York, was not one Doctor Pace
> In this man's place before him?
> *Wol.* Yes, he was.
> *Cam.* Was he not held a learned man?
> *Wol.* Yes, surely.
> *Cam.* Believe me, there's an ill opinion spread, then,
> Even of yourself, Lord Cardinal.
> *Wol.* How! of me?
> *Cam.* They will not stick to say, you envied him,
> And, fearing he would rise, he was so virtuous,
> Kept him a foreign man still; which so grieved him,
> That he ran mad, and died.
> *Wol.* Heaven's peace be with him!
> That's Christian care enough: for living murmurers
> There's places of rebuke. He was a fool;
> For he would needs be virtuous: that good fellow,
> If I command him, follows my appointment:
> I will have none so near else."

So may the mean rise on the ruin of the noble. "For there is a man whose labour is in wisdom, and in knowledge, and in equity; yet to a man who hath not laboured therein shall he leave it for his portion." As Wolsey is to Queen Katharine in the play, so

is Gardiner to Doctor Pace. But Katharine and Dr. Pace were not saved by their worth from being crushed under the wheel of earthly fortune.

The third scene of this Act shows the continued rise of Anne; the fourth then passes to the fall of Katharine. Anne Boleyn is painted throughout as worthy to be the mother of Queen Elizabeth; and the substance of the last Act is foreshadowed by reference from time to time to some great blessing that shall spring from her. Again also the theme of the play is maintained by contrast of Anne's character with that of a worldly old Court lady, who meets deep sympathy for the fallen Queen with shallow words of course. To Anne's faith that

> "'Tis better to be lowly born,
> And range with humble livers in content,
> Than to be perked up in a glistering grief,
> And wear a golden sorrow,"

the old Court lady indeed replies in the conventional tone, "Our content is our best having;" but in all that she says afterwards, Shakespeare paints humorously the petty greed of a small courtier's unsatisfied ambition. When the Lord Chamberlain has interrupted them with the announcement that the king has created Anne Marchioness of Pembroke, with a thousand pounds a year, and has then departed muttering to himself that in Anne Boleyn beauty and honour are so mingled

> "That they have caught the king; and who knows yet
> But from this lady may proceed a gem
> To lighten all this isle?—"

the old lady gives her own reading of a lesson on the freaks of fortune:—

> "Why, this it is; see, see!
> I have been begging sixteen years in Court,—
> Am yet a courtier beggarly,—nor could
> Come pat between too early and too late
> For any suit of pounds; and you, O Fate!
> A very fresh-fish here—fie, fie upon
> This compelled fortune!—have your mouth filled up
> Before you open it."

In the next scene, that of the Ecclesiastical Court in the house of the Dominicans at Blackfriars, there is an opening touch to mark the king's

impatience. Wolsey proposes that the Commissions of the Cardinals should be read, and the king breaks in impatiently with—

> "What's the need?
> It hath already publicly been read,
> And on all sides the authority allowed;
> You may, then, spare that time."

This impatience of a quarter of an hour's delay at the beginning of the scene makes more emphatic the anger at the end, when nothing is attained but an indefinite postponement.

> "I may perceive,
> These Cardinals trifle with me: I abhor
> This dilatory sloth, and tricks of Rome.
> My learn'd and well-beloved servant, Cranmer,
> Pr'ythee return: with thy approach, I know,
> My comfort comes along."

Then angrily, "Break up the Court!—I say, set on." All readers feel the charm that is given in this scene to the character of Katharine by the skilful blending of love, patience, piety, and all womanly graces with high spirit; by the praise that comes with double force from the lips of the husband who is putting her away. We may note also the continued use of Katharine and Wolsey, the two chief types of the fickleness of earthly fortune, as opposites to each other in spirit, although subject to like forfeits in the flesh.

The Third Act of "King Henry VIII." in its two scenes is wholly occupied with Katharine and Wolsey. The first represents the fallen queen among her women, and sets her grief to soft music that in Shakespeare's plays was used for expression of the harmony within immortal souls. The words of the song indeed express the thought. The power of Orpheus is the power of the divine harmony within to calm the waves of passion and bring peace.

> "Everything that heard him play,
> Even the billows of the sea,
> Hung their heads, and then lay by.
> In sweet music is such art,
> Killing care and grief of heart
> Fall asleep, or, hearing, die."

Now again is Katharine in contrast with Wolsey, simple truth with worldly policy. In the next scene the talk of the nobles is of

the rise of Cranmer, and the impending fall of Wolsey. Then Wolsey enters disturbed in mind, but among all his troubles still maintaining an unshaken confidence of power. Anne Boleyn's hopes of queenhood shall be blasted, and by him—

> "This candle burns not clear: 'tis I must snuff it;
> Then, out it goes."

The king draws near, reading the inventory of Wolsey's wealth, which the Cardinal had by mistake put into the packet of papers sent to him: "What piles of wealth hath he accumulated!" It is the echo of "He heapeth up riches—" As the king departs, "frowning upon Wolsey," he leaves him with the papers that complete his ruin. The Cardinal looks first at the inventory of his wealth, and thinks out a subtlety to overcome that difficulty with the king: but looks then on the other paper; it is his letter to the Pope! He is ruined beyond all earthly hope. Then, when subject to the insults of the nobles, his eyes also are opened to the vanity of earthly glory:

> "Vain pomp and glory of the world, I hate ye!
> I feel my heart new opened."

We are shown too the better side of Wolsey, through the love for him in those of his own household. In the scene with Cromwell, while the rise of others on his fall is told him, out of the heart new opened comes its inmost goodness, and Wolsey reads the lesson of his life to Cromwell, by bidding him avoid its faults—self-seeking revenge, corrupt dealing, as his had been with those who betrayed Buckingham—

> "Love thyself last: cherish those hearts that hate thee.
> Corruption wins not more than honesty.
> Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace,
> To silence envious tongues. Be just, and fear not.
> Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
> Thy God's, and truth's: then if thou fall'st, O Cromwell,
> Thou fall'st a blessed martyr. Serve the king;
> And—Pr'ythee, lead me in:
> There take an inventory of all I have,
> To the last penny; 'tis the king's: my robe,
> And my integrity to Heaven, is all
> I dare now call my own. O Cromwell, Cromwell!
> Had I but served my God with half the zeal
> I served my king, He would not in mine age

Have left me naked to mine enemies.
Cromwell. Good sir, have patience.
Wolsey. So I have.—Farewell
The hopes of Court! my hopes in Heaven do dwell."

"Man walketh in a vain shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain: he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. And now, Lord, what is my hope? truly my hope is even in thee."

The Fourth Act contains two contrasted scenes. One is the coronation of Anne Boleyn; the other is the death of Katharine. The two gentlemen who meet at the crowning of Anne significantly remember that they last met at the execution of Buckingham. One tells the other of the dying and deserted queen at Kimbolton. There is a sigh for the fall of Queen Katharine, followed immediately by the sound of trumpets in the celebration of the rise of Queen Anne—

"Alas, good lady!
[*Trumpets.*
The trumpets sound: stand close, the queen is coming."

Then enters another show of pomp—the manner of presenting the play being designed to give "the view of earthly glory." The description of the coronation includes talk of the sickness of the ruined cardinal, of the rise of Gardiner to be Bishop of Winchester, of Cranmer to the Archbishopric, of Thomas Cromwell to the Privy Council—rise and fall everywhere of the waves of fortune.

In the second scene we hear of the death of Wolsey and look upon the death of Katharine. Wolsey died, in fact, on the twenty-ninth of November, 1530, and Katharine in January, 1536, more than two years after the birth of Elizabeth; and the coronation of Anne Boleyn was in June, 1533. But in poetry essential truths are shown by bringing suggestive incidents into the most significant relation to each other; so the death of Wolsey is told as recent to the dying Katharine. Wolsey's ambition ends with his appeal to the Abbot of Leicester—

"O father Abbot,
An old man, broken with the storms of state,
Is come to lay his weary bones among ye;
Give him a little earth for charity!"

Katharine's last remembrance of their opposition to each other is lost in words of charity that show the better side of the fallen Cardinal, and tell how

"His overthrow heaped happiness upon him;
For then, and not till then, he felt himself,
And found the blessedness of being little:
And, to add greater honours to his age
Than man could give him, he died fearing God."

The death of Katharine with her last hope in God is marked by soft music—

"Cause the musicians play me that sad note
I named my knell, whilst I sit meditating
On that celestial harmony I go to."

Her vision then presents to the eye of the spectator, while music also suggests to the ear, the heavenly crown she has attained. The spark of royal feeling near the close is the last flash of her mortality, but the final words are of kind thought for those whom she has loved and is now leaving.

Then, in the Fifth Act, comes the universal application, to the community of man as to the single man—of the faith expressed by the fallen Buckingham—

"Heaven has an end in all."

The whole Act is concerned with two things. A picture in little of the divisions in the Church, with a control tending towards Reformation. And the birth of Elizabeth, with the prophecy that she, for whom so many seeming chances of unequal fortune had prepared the way, would be a queen in whose day every man should sing the merry songs of peace to all his neighbours, God should be truly known, and characters of men should give the measure of their greatness. The hope was large, and true, although for full accomplishment England must wait long years beyond the days of Elizabeth or of Victoria. But Shakespeare heard, as we all may hear, the voice of God in History, "Fear thou not, for I am with thee: Be not dismayed, for I am thy God."

CHAPTER XII.

DRAMA: BEN JONSON UNDER JAMES I.

Periods of the Early Drama.

AMONG the dramatists born in the reign of Elizabeth who began to write under the Stuarts there were, at the accession of James I., John Fletcher, twenty-four years old; Francis Beaumont, nineteen; John Webster, perhaps twenty-three; Cyril Tourneur, perhaps twenty; Philip Massinger, nineteen; John Ford, seventeen; James Shirley, seven. These were, however, Stuart dramatists, and not Elizabethan. The name of "Elizabethan dramatists" should be used only to distinguish those who wrote in the reign of Elizabeth. Our English drama during that reign falls naturally into two sections, which we may call Earlier and Later Elizabethan. The Earlier extends from the first plays at the beginning of the reign to the date, say, of the second part of the "Faerie Queene," 1596. It includes "Gorboduc" and the earliest plays, together with the works of Lodge, Peele, Lyly, Greene, Marlowe, and the early works of Shakespeare. The Later Elizabethan drama, from 1596 to 1603, has in its centre Shakespeare, now master of his art; and includes a few of the elder writers who add to the number of their works; a few younger men—Ben Jonson, Marston, Dekker, and Heywood—and one older man, George Chapman, who when he first began to work as a playwright took his place among Later Elizabethan dramatists. The producers of the Later Elizabethan drama

did not, however, cease to write when the queen died in March, 1603, but passed as active workers into the reign of James I.; and their plays, though produced in what is, as regards chronology, the Early Stuart period, retain so absolutely their Elizabethan character that it is convenient to class them together. We may speak of them as the *Stuart*-Elizabethan group.

We distinguish, therefore, three divisions of the Elizabethan drama. Marlowe's plays, for instance, are Earlier Elizabethan; Shakespeare's—except his 'prentice work—rank with the Later Elizabethan if written before March, 1603; after that date they are Stuart-Elizabethan.

Next to these come the "Stuart dramatists"—men who were born and bred, and who produced all their works, under the Stuarts. As is the case with the Elizabethan, the Stuart drama may be divided into Earlier and Later—the period of the Commonwealth forming a clear dividing line. But, just as we had to distinguish the Elizabethan dramatists who continued to write under the Stuarts, and to class them together, so we must now distinguish still another group in the Earlier Stuart period. During the reigns of James and Charles there were a number of poets who had been young men or children under Elizabeth, and had been educated more or less under the same influences which had moulded the great poets of that reign. The work of these dramatists has a distinct character. They wrote only under the Stuarts, but the Elizabethan tone of their plays leads us to distinguish them as the *Elizabethan*-Stuarts. Such writers are those mentioned above — Beaumont and Fletcher, Webster, Massinger, Ford, and Shirley.

Our classification therefore becomes—

I. ELIZABETHAN. *a.* Earlier (1558 to 1596); *b.* Later (to 1603).

II. STUART. *a.* Earlier (1603-1648); *b.* Later (1660-1714).

But there are two "groups" of writers in the Earlier Stuart "period, whom we isolate as *Stuart*-Elizabethan — *i.e.*, Elizabethans who continued to write under the Stuarts; and *Elizabethan*-Stuarts, or writers chronologically wholly Stuart, who preserved, however, an Elizabethan character.

Of the Stuart-Elizabethan group, Ben Jonson* is, next to Shakespeare, chief. Under James I. he gradually became the convivial centre of a group of men of genius, and owed his predominance to a real intellectual power. The playhouse audience was losing its old national character. Secession of those men who might have said "Amen" at the close of the "Looking-glass for London and England" meant the gradual loss of a main element in the audience—that part of it on which a dramatist who is intensely earnest can rely for sympathy. The shallowness of the king's character made his patronage of the stage no remedy for this. Fewer men came to the playhouse with their souls ready to answer to the touch of genius. The range of Shakespeare's plots was wide as humanity, and in the true Elizabethan drama there is throughout variety of motive for the action of the plays. But we have not gone far into the reign of James I. before we find this range becoming narrowed. The lower standard of the audience for whom the playwright worked limited the expression of his highest power. In the Elizabethan-Stuart drama the plots nearly all turn upon animal love.

Ben Jonson.

Ben Jonson did not stoop to this. His plays had variety of theme, and through their wit and humour a vigorous mind was often uttering its wisdom to the deaf. He and his hearers were out of accord. He spoke of them and to them with an arrogant disdain which they in part deserved; and at last, after years of impatient service, while their degradation had been steadily proceeding, he turned from them with bitter words of loathing. Ben

* "E. W." x. 387-394.

Jonson's self-assertion went too far; but that which provoked it was a real change in the character of the dramatist's public. The growth of Puritanism outside the theatre withdrew, as has been said, an important element from the playhouse audience. Plays were then written to please the class of men who were left as patrons of the stage, and the change thus made in the plays would quicken the defection of the better sort of playgoers. But while Ben Jonson disdained the judgment of these later audiences, there was no disdainful spirit in his dealing with true men. He looked up to Shakespeare; and the fittest eulogy of Shakespeare's genius that any Englishman had written came from Ben Jonson. In his later life young men of genius gathered about him and looked up to him; he called them heartily his sons, and had frank pride in their achievements. Of Shakespeare it was Ben Jonson who sang—

> "How far thou didst our Lyly outshine,
> Or sporting Kyd, or Marlowe's mighty line.
> And though thou hadst small Latin and less Greek,
> From thence to honour thee I will not seek
> For names: but call forth thundering Æschylus,
> Euripides, and Sophocles to us,
> Pacuvius, Accius, him of Cordova, dead
> To live again, to hear thy buskin tread
> And shake a stage; or, when thy socks were on,
> Leave thee alone for the comparison
> Of all that insolent Greece or haughty Rome
> Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.
> Triumph, my Britain! thou hast one to show,
> To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe.
> He was not of an age, but for all time!
> And all the Muses still were in their prime
> When, like Apollo, he came forth to warm
> Our ears, or like a Mercury to charm.
> Nature herself was proud of his designs,
> And joyed to wear the dressing of his lines."

Ben Jonson's tragedy of "Sejanus," produced in 1603,

with work in it from another hand, was not very successful, but it succeeded better after he had recast it in part and made it all his own. It was printed in 1605, and the small criticisms of a pedantic age Ben Jonson forestalled by footnotes citing the authority for all that he had worked into a harmonious and very noble play. Because the footnotes were there, and looked erudite, the superficial thing to do was to pronounce the play pedantic. But it is not pedantic. Jonson was no pedant. He had carried on for himself the education received at Westminster School, was a good scholar, delighted in his studies, and accumulated a large library, which, in or about the year 1622, was burnt. But he was true poet and true artist. His lyrics rank with the best of a time when nobody wrote dramas who was not poet enough to produce musical songs. No man can be a dramatist, in any real sense of the word, who cannot produce good lyrics. The greater includes the less. As dramatist Jonson had not Shakespeare's wealth of fancy, nor had he his sense of kindred with all forms of life—that wide sympathy which, far more than mere insight into character, gave him the power of being in imagination all that other men can be in reality, and which caused his character-painting to stand quite alone in the world's literature. Nobody but Shakespeare ever made men speak as from within, and one might say, betray themselves, as men and women do in real life, so that in his mimic world the persons are as variously judged, and tried by as many tests, as if one were discussing words and deeds of living people. All other dramatists have painted men and women as they saw them, and we see them, from without—not reproducing life, but drawing pictures of it.

"Sejanus."

Ben Jonson judged himself aright, and wrote only two tragedies; but each of them has a clear artistic structure, a dignity in its main thought, and vigorous dramatic scenes, from which, though it be tragedy, the humour of the satirist

is not entirely absent. Sejanus rises by base arts; he spurns the gods, but has within his house a shrine to Fortune. He scorns the spiritual aims of life, works grossly for material success, and from his pinnacle of state falls to be dashed in pieces:

> "Let this example move the insolent man
> Not to grow proud and careless of the gods."

There is a scene at the opening of the Second Act in which Eudemus, the physician, is painting the cheeks of Livia. The dialogue blends meanest frivolity with a light planning of the most atrocious crime, and shows how Ben Jonson, following his own bent, could join a stern sense of the tragic in life with the manners of the comic poet. There is a very light touch of the spirit of comedy, suggesting the relation of small men to great events, in the fidgety movements of Consul Regulus, who has been called out of his bed, in the third scene of the Fifth Act. Under the character of a rough, honest censor, Ben Jonson himself often walked abroad through his own plays. Thus, in "Sejanus," he may be said to have embodied himself in the part of Arruntius.

In these first years, also, of James's reign so little of the ill-will of small minds resulted from the stage controversy raised by Marston and Dekker in "Satiromastix" that Jonson and Dekker were working together, in 1603, at entertainments for the City of London on his majesty's accession; and one of Marston's best plays—"The Malcontent," written probably in 1603, and certainly published in two editions in 1604—was dedicated to Ben Jonson as his liberal and cordial friend. In 1605, when "Sejanus" was printed, Marston's friendship for Ben Jonson appeared in the front of it; and in that year also (1605) Ben Jonson was fellow-worker with Marston and Chapman in the play of "Eastward Hoe." The play contained a sentence—afterwards expunged—that offended

"Eastward Ho."

the king and brought the writers into trouble; but the whole character of Sir Petronel Flash was a satire upon his majesty's great cheapening of the honours of knighthood. The play itself, with some freedom of detail, was supremely moral in its design, being a contrast between the careers of the Idle and the Industrious Apprentice.

Ben Jonson, who had many friends among the abler men of rank at Court, began at the outset of James's reign to find employment as a writer of Court masques. In this form of writing—which had been untouched by Shakespeare—he was in his own day easily first; but his true strength was in a form of comedy exclusively his own, broad and deep, generous in its aim, with scorn for all that is base, lively in its representation of a great variety of follies and vices, and strong throughout with a manliness that gives a bracing sense of intellectual energy to every scene. The reader's mind, after a ramble through "Volpone" or "The Alchemist," feels as his body might after a wholesome walk in the sea-breeze. Ben Jonson, about thirty years old at the accession of James I., was about thirty-two when, after "Sejanus," he produced "Volpone; or, the Fox," in 1605, a comedy that satirised, in the spirit of Juvenal, the sordid greed for gain. Volpone adds day by day to his already great wealth by feigning to be at the point of death; so that expectant suitors—each of whom is led to believe that he shall be sole heir — endeavour to sweeten the last moments by further gifts. As he enters upon another day's work, Volpone first has the curtain drawn from his "shrine," that he may again gloat upon the piles of gold, silver, and jewels; then, as a dying man, the "Fox" proceeds to give audience to the

"Volpone."

> "Vulture, kite,
> Raven, and gorcrow, all my birds of prey."

The relations of each of these would-be heirs to him

are woven into a well-told tale which shows us how for greed of gold the husband will give up his wife to infamy, the father disinherit his son, the old man with few days to live crawl as the slave of Avarice; until at last Venice does justice upon all, even upon the cunning "Fox" himself; for having gained wealth

> "By feigning lame, gout, palsy, and such diseases,
> Thou art to live in prison cramped with irons
> Till thou be'st sick and lame indeed."

Then followed two more of his masterpieces, "Epicœne; or, the Silent Woman," in 1609, and "The Alchemist," in 1610. His second tragedy, "Catiline," came next, in 1611. For twelve years, during this earlier part of his life, Ben Jonson had been a Roman Catholic, having embraced that faith during a short imprisonment for having killed, on the twenty-second of September, 1598, a fellow-actor, Francis Archer, in a duel; but he had by this time rejoined the Church of England. In 1613 he was in France, as companion and tutor to Sir Walter Raleigh's son. When he came home he poured scorn upon the outside show of Puritanism in his "Bartholomew Fair," and produced in 1616, the year of Shakespeare's death, a comedy called "The Devil is an Ass," in which the imp Pug, having obtained a holiday on earth, went back to his own place with serious loss of character; for said Satan to him—

Other Plays.

> "Whom hast thou dealt with,
> Woman or man, this day, but have outgone thee
> Some way, and most have proved the better fiends?"

Each party in the rising controversy of the day had its mean rout of camp-followers, serving the times for their own advantage. If Zeal-in-the-Land Busy in "Bartholomew Fair" represented one of the untruths of the time, the truth he parodied was in the good men of all parties. It was in

Ben Jonson among the rest, and he uttered it, in his own way as a comedian, very distinctly in this play, which followed next after "Bartholomew Fair." In the same year, 1616, Ben Jonson published a folio as the first volume of his works, including, not plays only, but epigrams and miscellaneous poems gathered under the title of "The Forest." In this, the year of Shakespeare's death, Jonson ceased to write for the playhouse. He continued to produce Court masques, but wrote no more plays for the public stage until after the death of James I. In June, 1618, Ben Jonson, always mindful of his Scottish origin, left London and walked to Edinburgh. He found a cordial welcome, was made, in September, a burgess of Edinburgh, and was for some weeks a guest in the house of William Drummond of Hawthornden, who took notes of the English poet's conversations with him. Ben Jonson was back in London at the end of April, 1619. In the summer of that year he visited Oxford, where the degree of M.A. was conferred on him by the University; and, at the cost of some trouble, he escaped being knighted by King James.

The best plays of Ben Jonson had then been written. To his first comedy, "Every Man in his Humour" (1598), which ranks always with the best, he had added, as we have seen, his three masterpieces — "Volpone," "The Silent Woman," and "The Alchemist." In the first of these the part of Volpone, which gives wide range for the display of an actor's powers, was taken by Richard Burbage, and among the other actors were the two who, in 1623, edited the first folio of Shakespeare's plays—Heminge and Condell.

"*Epicœne, or The Silent Woman*"

s a comedy in prose. Morose is an old bachelor with an extravagant dislike of noise. His nephew, Dauphine Eugenie, has been out in the rain of King James's knighthoods, and one of them has dropped upon him. He is a knight without means, and has asked for an allowance

from his uncle. The uncle has resented this and the knighthood. He will grant no allowance, and will put his nephew out of succession to his property by taking a wife, if he can find a woman quiet enough for him. Cutberd, his barber, has obtained Morose's confidence by never talking, or even clicking with the scissors when he trims his hair. He has intimated to his patron that he can introduce to him a young and good-looking woman, of good family but without a fortune, who is unusually sparing of her words. Morose is tempted by the suggestion. Her silence would be dowry enough.

"The Silent Woman."

Among the friends of Dauphine Eugenie are Clerimont and Truewit, two young gentlemen who open the play at the beginning of the day to which its action is confined. They talk of fashions among women, and of a newly founded college of ladies, who call themselves the Collegiates, are an "order" between courtiers and country madames, live away from their husbands, give entertainment to all the wits and braveries of the time, as they call them, cry down or up what they like, and every day gain to their college some new probationer. The Lady Haughty is their president, and they are all given much to the repairing of their charms with perukes, false teeth, false eyebrows, false complexion, for the more commodious living of false lives. Talk of this brings from Clerimont the song which has for the second of its two stanzas—

> "Give me a look, give me a face,
> That makes simplicity a grace;
> Robes loosely flowing, hair as free:
> Such sweet neglect more taketh me
> Than all the adulteries of art
> That strike mine eyes, but not my heart."

Clerimont and Truewit speak then of the melancholy of their friend Dauphine Eugenie—sick of an uncle, they suppose—and then proceed to playful illustration of Morose's extravagant dread of noise. He has chosen a house in a street so narrow at both ends that it would admit no coach or carts. In the Queen's time he had gone out of town every Saturday at ten o'clock to escape the ringing of bells. "But now," says Clerimont, "by reason of the sickness, the perpetuity of ringing has made him devise a room with double walls and treble ceilings, the windows close shut and caulked, and there he lives by candlelight. He turned away a man, last week, for having a pair of new shoes that creaked. And this fellow waits on him now in tennis-court socks, or slippers soled with wool.'

In the second scene Dauphine comes to his friends and tells of his uncle's wish to disinherit him by marrying, and the free-spoken Clerimont, to whom this is no news—though it is to Truewit—completes the tale by relating the uncle's half-year's search for a dumb woman able to bear children, till now he has heard of one exceedingly soft-spoken and thrifty of her speech who is lodged in the next street to him; he is now about her, and shall have her! Cutberd, his barber, has told him of her. She lives right over against the barber's, in the house where Sir John Daw lies. Then Sir John Daw is discussed as the only talking sir in the town, an empty pretender who affects learning as well as fashion, but whose knowledge is limited to the names of books. Truewit departs abruptly.

Dauphine thinks that Clerimont has been over-frank; Truewit's nature is not for secrets. Clerimont, however, knows where he has been well trusted and has discharged the trust truly and faithfully. Dauphine answers, "I contend not, Ned, but with the fewer a business is carried it is ever the safer."

Sir Amorous La Foole enters. He "is one of the Braveries though he be none of the Wits. He will salute a Judge upon the bench and a Bishop in the pulpit, a Lawyer when he is pleading at the Bar, and a Lady when she is dancing in a masque, and put her out. He does give plays, and suppers, and invites his guests to them aloud out of his window as they ride by in coaches. He has a lodging in the Strand for the purpose, or to watch when ladies are gone to the china houses, or the Exchange, that he may meet them by chance, and give them presents—some two or three hundred pounds' worth of toys—to be laughed at." He comes now to invite Clerimont and Dauphine to a dinner he will give to-day. "Where hold you your feast?"—"At Tom Otter's, sir." "Tom Otter? What's he?"—"Captain Otter, sir; he is a kind of gamester: but he has had command both by sea and by land."—"O, then he is *animal amphibium.*"—"Aye, sir; his wife was the rich china-woman that the courtiers visited so often, she that gave the rare entertainment. She commands all at home."—"Then she is Captain Otter."—"You say very well, sir; she is my kinswoman, a La Foole by the mother side, and will invite any great ladies for my sake." At the dinner to which La Foole invites Clerimont and Dauphine there will be, he says, a great lady or two—my lady Haughty, my lady Centaure, mistress Dol Mavis, all three collegiates—and they come on purpose to see the silent woman, Mistress Epicœne, whom honest Sir John Daw has promised to bring thither. "We will not fail you, sir, precious La Foole," says Dauphine: "but she shall, that your ladies come to see: if I have credit afore Sir Daw."

"Did you ever hear such a wind-sucker as this?" says Clerimont. "Or," says Dauphine, "such a rook as the other, that will betray his mistress to be seen? Come, 'tis time we prevented." "Go," says Clerimont. And so the First Act ends.

The Second Act is opened by Morose, who is questioning his servant Mute upon the completeness of arrangements for the shutting out of noise, Mute being forbidden to speak in reply. "And you have been with Cutberd, the barber, to have him come to me? (—) good. And he will come presently? Answer me not but with your leg, unless it be otherwise, shake your head or shrug (—) so. Your Italian and Spaniard are wise in these, and it is a frugal and comely gravity. How long will it be ere Cutberd come? Stay. If an hour, hold up your whole hand; if half an hour, two fingers; if a quarter, one (—) good; half a quarter? 'tis well. And have you given him a key, to come in without knocking? (—) good. And is the lock oiled, and the hinges, to-day? (—) good. And the quilting of the stairs nowhere worn out and bare? (—) good."

Morose has his own way till a horn is blown outside, once and again. Then Truewit enters, horn in hand, with a torrent of noisy speech; for he is bent upon helping his friend Dauphine by frightening the uncle out of his design to marry. He sets forth loudly and at large in many forms the noisy trouble of a wife. Morose can only cry, "O! O! What is my sin? what is my sin?" Truewit leaves with him a halter to furnish his grey head with a better knot than the wedlock noose. "Come, ha' me to my chamber," says Morose to Mute; "but first shut the door." The door opens, and Morose shrieks, "Is he come again?" "'Tis I, sir, your barber," answers Cutberd, as he enters. "O Cutberd, Cutberd, Cutberd, there has been a cut-throat with me: help me in to my bed, and give me physic with thy counsel."

In the next scene, at Sir John Daw's house, Clerimont and Dauphine are persuading Epicœne not to go to the feast given by Sir Amorous La Foole. Sir John reads to them with satisfaction some verses he has written to her, and discloses his imbecility in sundry ways, one being by his display of learning through a familiar use of the names of books he has never opened.

Truewit enters to boast of his success in scaring Morose from his project of marriage, but he gets no thanks. "'Fore heaven," says Dauphine, "you have undone me. That which I have plotted for and been maturing now these four months you have blasted in a minute. Now I am lost, I may speak. This gentlewoman was lodged here by me o' purpose, and, to be put upon my uncle, hath profest this obstinate

silence for my sake, being my entire friend; and one that, for the requital of such a fortune as to marry him, would have made me very ample conditions, where now all my hopes are utterly miscarried by this unlucky accident." But upon this comes Cutberd to report that "there has been a mad gentleman with your uncle this morning (I think this be the gentleman), that has almost talked him out of his wits with threatening him from marriage."—"On, I pray thee."—"And your uncle, sir, he thinks 'twas done by your procurement; therefore, he will see the party you wot of presently: and if he likes her, he says, and that she be so inclining to dumb as I have told him, he swears he will marry her to-day, instantly, and not defer it a minute longer."

In the next scene Morose does see Epicœne, asks many questions, and gets sufficient answers in few monosyllables, that are inaudible, till she is asked to speak a little louder. Morose is happy. "Cutberd, I give thee the lease of thy house free: thank me not but with thy leg (—). I know what thou wouldst say, she's poor and her friends deceased. She has brought a wealthy dowry in her silence, Cutberd: and in respect of her poverty, Cutberd, I shall have her more loving and obedient, Cutberd. Go thy ways and get me a minister presently, with a soft low voice, to marry us, but pray him he will not be impertinent, but brief as he can; away!" Then, as he makes some rustle in leaving, "Softly, Cutberd."

The act ends with Cutberd going to fetch the parson, while Truewit proposes, and Clerimont and Dauphine agree, to contrive the transfer of La Foole's feast with the ladies of the college and all the rest of the company, with noise of music as for a wedding feast, to Morose's house from that of Tom Otter.

"Who is Tom Otter?"—"An excellent animal, equal with your Daw or La Foole, if not transcendent, and does Latin as much as your barber; he is his wife's subject, he calls her Princess, and at such times as these follows her up and down the house like a page, with his hat off, partly for heat, partly for reverence; at this instant he is marshalling his bull, bear, and horse."—"What be those, in the name of Sphinx?"—"Why, sir, he has been a great man at the bear-gardens in his time, and from that subtle sport has ta'en the witty denominations of his three carousing cups. One he calls his bull, another his bear, another his horse; and then he has his lesser glasses that he calls his deer and his ape, and several degrees of hem too; and never is well, nor thinks any entertainment perfect, till these be brought out and set on the cupboard."

The Third Act opens with Captain Otter and his Princess busily

preparing La Foole's feast. Mrs. Otter is kinswoman of La Foole on the mother's side, and had made much money as a china-woman at a stall frequented by the fashionable idlers, before she married Otter on conditions that made him her slave. She will not be baited with his bull and bear that he is fetching out among the banqueting cups: "Do I allow you half a crown a day to spend where you will among you gamesters to vex and torment me at such times as these? Who gives you your maintenance, I pray you? Who allows you your horse meat and man's meat? your three suits of apparel a year? your four pairs of stockings—one silk, three worsted? your clean linen, your bands and cuffs—when I can get you to wear hem? 'Tis mar'l you ha' hem on now. Who graces you with courtiers or great personages to speak to you out of their coaches, and come home to your house?"

This is wifely plainness of speech, but Mrs. Otter can also talk in fashionable phrase, and can "resolve you" when Dauphine and his fine friends appear. They arrange with La Foole for transfer of the feast from Mrs. Otter's kitchen to Morose's house; plenty of music will follow as the dishes pass along the street. They lay also the foundations of an imaginary quarrel between La Foole and Sir John Daw, in which two cowards shall be tricked into mortal fear of each other, and then become, through fear, devoted friends.

Morose is married to Epicœne by a parson with a cold that leaves him little voice, but when he coughs after taking his fee Morose asks for five shillings of his money back. The parson goes on coughing, and Epicœne, now that she is married, is also found to have a voice—yes, indeed, and a will too!

Truewit also returns. "Before," he says to Morose, "I was the bird of night to you, the owl; but now I am the messenger of peace, a dove, and bring you the glad wishes of many friends, to the celebration of this good hour. . . . We'll have all, sir, that may make your Hymen high and happy."—"O, my torment, my torment!" Truewit still teases until all the painted ladies of the college enter to greet Morose and his bride. Music of all sorts plays outside. La Foole, in an apron, as chief server, has marched the banquet through the streets The whole procession passes in. "Look you here, sir," says Truewit, "what honour is done you unexpected by your nephew; a wedding dinner come, and a knight server before it for the more reputation."

The bride is called upon to entertain the ladies. She invites them. There is wrangle in passing out between a lady collegiate and Mrs. Otter, who claims also to be of the college; and all is noise and confusion when Captain Otter, graduate of the bear garden, enters. "I have brought," he says, "my bull, bear, and horse in private, and

yonder are the trumpeters without, and the drum, gentlemen. *Morose:* O, ô, ô! *Otter:* And we will have a rouse in each of hem soon, for bold Britons, i' faith! *Morose:* O, ô, ô! *All:* Follow, follow, follow!" So the Act ends.

The Fourth Act sets forth, with happy invention and a hearty sense of fun, the trials of Morose upon his wedding with the Silent Woman. Captain Otter to the sound of trumpets challenges Sir John Daw and La Foole to set foot to foot and empty the bull, bear, and horse. La Foole is afraid lest his cousin, Mrs. Otter, should come in. The captain, grown pot-valorous, defies his wife; Mrs. Otter comes in, and hears him speak scorn of her peruke and other of her belongings. At Truewit's bidding the trumpets sound a charge, and his Princess with loud wrath comes down upon the captain. Morose learns from Madam Otter how much noise a wife can make, and the Act ends with his hope that for himself a way of divorce may at once be found. To that end a lawyer and a divine shall argue possibilities before him. Truewit plans to dress and prepare Otter and the barber for these characters. Both smatter Latin, and with a little prompting they will wrangle famously, "and I hope," adds Truewit, "without wronging the dignity of either profession, since they are but persons put on, and for mirth's sake, to torment him."

In the Fifth Act, with further playing on the follies of Sir John Daw, La Foole, and the Collegians, there is the great conference between Cutberd and Otter in their characters of grave men versed severally in the civil and the canon law. They begin politely, bandy Latin, differ, dispute loudly together, go through all grounds of divorce. Morose is led to try experiments that fail, and is left without hope.

But now his nephew tells him that he knows a way to secure the divorce from Epicœne.

If he can do that he shall have his uncle's love. He shall at once have the five hundred a year that he had been asking for, out of his uncle's estate of fifteen hundred, with the rest assured upon him after.

The writing to affirm this is produced. Morose signs willingly: "If there be a word in it lacking or writ with false orthography, I protest before—I will not take the advantage."

"Then," says Dauphine, "here is your release, sir; you have married a boy: a gentleman's son that I have brought up, this half year, at my great charges, and for this composition that I have now made with you. What say you, master Doctor? This is *justum impedimentum*, I hope, *error personæ*. *Otter:* Yes, sir, *in primo gradu*. *Cutberd: In primo gradu*. *Dauphine:* I thank you, good Doctor Cutberd and Parson Otter.

The secret of this *error personæ* is very well kept in the play, and Dauphine's reservation of it from his private friends came of a point in his character skilfully indicated in the third scene of the First Act, where he comments upon Truewit as "a strange open man to tell everything": and when assured that Truewit can at need keep a friend's counsel says, "I think no other; but this frank nature of his is not meant for secrets," adding presently that "with the fewer a business is carried it is ever the safer." In the fourth scene of the Second Act, when Dauphine thinks Truewit has spoiled his game, he finds it necessary to tell part of his plot; he seems indeed to have told all, but has really reserved the main fact, so that the disclosures made only serve to better guard the secret from discovery.

The play is skilfully constructed, witty and good-humoured, full of life and bustle; but the characters of this comedy of Ben Jonson's, and not of this alone, however fresh in their conception, are conceived according to the genius of the old Latin comedy. There is keen satire of manners, but no large sense of the lives of men. All the persons in the comedy are entertaining, but not one of them draws from us a spark of sympathy. Dauphine himself is a cold schemer, and parts from his uncle, when he has secured the money he wants, with words perfectly in character, but hardly such as Shakespeare would have let him speak: "Now you may go in and rest: be as private as you will, sir. I'll not trouble you till you trouble me with your funeral, which I care not how soon it come."

"*The Alchemist*"

"The Alchemist."

is a comedy in blank verse, written when an ingenious sharper could still conjure money from the pockets of the credulous by giving them hope that some day they would be able to transmute all other metals into gold. Greed of gold is again the motive of action, but the satire is less mordant than in "Volpone."

The action, as in the Epicœne, is confined within the limits of a day.

Lovewit, after the death of his wife, withdrew into the country, shutting up his house in the city and leaving it in charge of an old servant, Jeremie. He also dreaded the plague, and there was plague enough in London to keep him away.

Jeremie met with Subtle, a cheat out at elbows, who got a poor living by the chance dupes he could make as a sharper in alchemy. Then Jeremie saw profit from a partnership with Subtle, set him up with furnaces and apparatus at his master's house in Bucklersbury, and

became his confederate to bring in custom. Doll Common was brought in as companion to both—a third in the confederacy.

Jeremie is a cunning rogue, and plays three parts. He transforms himself for the good of the firm into Captain Face, who flaunts about the town in silk and velvet to catch simpletons of every degree and bring them to the Alchemist. When need is, the outdoor silk and velvet disappear, and he is the grimy slave of the laboratory who feeds the furnace, puffs the bellows, watches the combustions, and gives his help indoors to the gulling of the customers he had caught outside. Finally he takes his own shape as the smooth-shaven and grave old servant, in whom nobody could see either Captain Face or the sooty blower of the bellows.

A lively quarrel of the three confederates over their shares of plunder at the beginning of the day's work clearly indicates their relation to each other, and their way of business, at the opening of the play. Doll Common has just compelled her two lords to agree by the time there is a knock at the door, and the first of the day's customers enters. The play shows, to the end of the Fourth Act, a day's business at the Alchemist's, with great diversity of manners and a frequent swiftness in change of the form of trick, as one customer is cleared out of the way to make room for another.

Dapper, a city clerk, wants a "familiar" to make him win in gambling. He is made to believe that he is nephew to the Queen of Faerie, who likes him so well that she will most likely see him and give him such a charm as he desires. Doll Common will be ready in due time to appear to him as his fairy aunt.

Abel Drugger, free of the Grocers, a young and simple-minded dealer in tobacco and other stores, says—

> "I am a young beginner, and am building
> Of a new shop, an't like your worship; just
> At corner of a street: (Here is the plot on't.)
> And I would know by art, sir, of your worship,
> Which way I should make my door, by necromancie;
> And where my shelves, and which should be for boxes
> And which for pots. I would be glad to thrive, sir.
> And I was wished to your worship by a gentleman,
> One Captain Face, that says you know men's planets
> And their good angels and their bad.

Subtle, playing upon the last words, replies—

> "I do,
> If I do see 'em."

For the business of the day for Face and Subtle is so to press on the credulity of each customer as to squeeze out of it as many "angels" as they can.

Sir Epicure Mammon has his imagination fired by expectation of the power to turn every metal into gold. He has been freely squeezed, but the projection is on the point of success—the philosopher's stone is to be his to-day. He counts it his, but cannot persuade his friend Surly to put faith in the Alchemist, although he says—

> "This night I'll change
> All that is metal in thy house to gold,
> And early in the morning will I send
> To all the plumbers and the plasterers,
> And buy their tin and lead up; and to Lothbury
> For all the copper.
> *Surly.* What, and turn that too?
> *Mammon.* Yes, and I'll purchase Devonshire and Cornwall,
> And make them perfect Indies."

The epicurean nature of Mammon is revealed in his words to Jeremie, —whom, as blower of the furnace, he calls Lungs or Puff—after he has received information that exalts his hope to certainty—

> "We will be brave, Puff, now we ha' the medicine.
> My meat shall all come in in Indian shells,
> Dishes of agate, set in gold and studded
> With emeralds, sapphires, hyacinths, and rubies,
> The tongues of carps, dormice, and camels' heels,
> Boiled i' the spirit of Sol, and dissolved pearl
> (Apicius' diet 'gainst the epilepsy),
> And I will eat these broths with spoons of amber
> Headed with diamond and carbuncle."

The power to be infinitely rich suggests nothing in life higher than a glorifying of the sty and trough.

Tribulation, pastor at Amsterdam, professing a desire only to make gold for spiritual ends—to wit, the enrichment of his church—sends his deacon, Ananias, to treat with the Alchemist before he comes himself. The satire on the manners of the Puritans is happiest in Ananias, who is not a man of many words or many ideas, but irrepressible in little interjected sentences that come of his fidelity to phrases and his strength of opinion upon trifles. If one says "Christmas," he corrects to "Christ-tide." If another should name Spanish slops, he twangs—

"They are profane,
Lewd, superstitious, and idolatrous breeches."

When Subtle says of the philosopher's stone that its tradition is not from men but spirits, Ananias interjects, "I hate traditions. They are Popish all." When he hears bells named, he says, "Bells are profane: a tune may be religious." And when one names "the idol starch," he sighs aloud, "It is indeed an idol."

Dame Pliant is an eligible widow, sister to a boorish, quarrelsome young country squire, named Kestril and known as the Angry Boy, who claims dominion over her. These are both caught as customers, and the young widow is drawn into the house and used for the better beguiling of Sir Epicure and others.

Such are the customers with whom the Alchemist deals during his day's business, and the dialogue is coloured skilfully with the jargon of Alchemy, in which Ben Jonson evidently was well read.

At the end of the day Face spies his master in the street; swiftly shaven he becomes Jeremie again, while Subtle and Doll pack up their plunder to be off.

In the Fifth Act Lovewit is knocking at his door surrounded by his neighbours, who tell him of strange doings at his house. There has been coming and going of coaches and fine people; Jeremie has not been seen there for a month. Jeremie, however, opens the door, looking innocent and grave. He denies everything the neighbours say, till they begin to distrust their own eyes. But one by one the customers come in again. The neighbours recognise them. But Jeremie is equal to the emergency, and suddenly recovers his ground by privately telling his master the truth and giving him the key of the trick that was to win the widow. He also takes from Subtle and Doll the key of the box in which they had packed their plunder. By this one unexpected turn, Jeremie is master of the situation! He keeps his place, having found his master a wife, and he keeps all the professional earnings of his little firm. Jeremie, Face, Puff, he is the master-cheat, and triumphs in that character.

"The Alchemist" is a play vigorous and lively; the incidents of the day's business are so interwoven as to produce dramatic contrasts and swift changes, with plenty of amusing bustle, while each character stands out from the rest with well-marked manners of its own. Every part in it might tempt an actor. If Richard Burbage, who was in the first cast, played Face, David Garrick, generations later, chose for himself Abel Drugger, and lifted that part into prominence.

When Ben Jonson began his large life as a dramatist with "Every Man in his Humour," the success of which led to his entitling his next play "Every Man out of his Humour," he adopted the word "humour" playfully and contemptuously from the cant of fashion. The polite nobodies of the Court talked of their humours between any two elegant pickings of their teeth, and Ben Jonson ridiculed the word. What word they should have used he tells us in the Prologue to "The Alchemist," when he refers to the variety of men and women,

For "humours" read "manners."

> "Whose manners, now called humours, feed the stage."

That he wrote two plays with the misused word "humour" playfully set in their title was enough suggestion for some far-away critic to distinguish him, with a fine air of discrimination, as a painter of humours, not of characters, and the empty saying has rumbled down to us as the word of an oracle for many generations. Why do we go on applying to Ben Jonson a word that he laughed at? Why do we not take his own plain English, and say that, like other men of his craft, he painted manners? Shakespeare alone, by a rare sympathetic insight, spoke in his plays out of the real lives of men, and could reveal a complete character. Other dramatists have painted manners as Aristotle understood them when they were defined by him in his "Poetics" as one of the parts of a drama. Nobody knows definitely what is meant by "humours," but a little clear thinking will bring out the fact that there is nothing in the manners of Ben Jonson's comedies that establishes such difference between them and the manners in good comedies of other writers—say, of Molière—as to leave one grain of sense in the tradition that differentiates the manners in Ben Jonson's comedies from those of other dramatists as "humours," and labels him perversely with a word that he condemned.

Ben Jonson excelled, under James I., as a writer of masques.* Such plays were presented at the Court of Queen Elizabeth, although the queen herself was not among the masquers; and there is record of the planning of a masque, in September, 1589, by order of the queen, to grace the marriage of King James VI. of Scotland, who was to succeed her as James I. of England.

Masques under James I.

King James was married in that year to Anne, second daughter of King Frederick II. of Denmark and Norway, the queen consort whose name frequently occurs in association with Ben Jonson's masques. She was the good genius who helped him to prosperity as a masque writer. King James was given to luxurious pleasures, and Anne of Denmark, second child in a family of seven, as a lively queen consort was found to delight much in masques and revels. She was a beautiful dancer, at a time when dancing was regarded as a Fine Art, and had also a beautiful handwriting. The name of Anna, by which she is known in the masques, is the form of her name which she herself preferred and used in signatures.

When she was but eleven years old, and King James twenty, the Danish Court had, through a great embassy about the restitution of the Orkney Islands, opened a question of marriage. She was a girl of sixteen when King James landed with her at Leith, on May Day, 1590. She had a brilliantly fair skin and flaxen hair, but no great beauty of feature.

Her eldest son, Prince Henry, was born at Stirling, on the nineteenth of February, 1594. Her daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, was born on the fifteenth of August, 1596. A second daughter, Margaret, who died in infancy, was born on the twenty-fourth of December, 1598. Her second son, Charles, afterwards Charles I., was born at

* "E. W." viii. 71-74.

Dunfermline on the nineteenth of November, 1600. A fifth child was a son, Robert, born in 1601, who died in infancy. The sixth and last, a daughter, Mary, was born in 1605, and died in 1607.

Ben Jonson passed into masque-writing through entertainments that gave pleasure to the queen. In the royal progress from Scotland to London she was entertained by Sir Robert Spencer at Althorpe, and a jewel had there been presented to her when she was walking with her ten-year-old Prince Henry in a wood. This was done by means of an entertainment contrived by Ben Jonson, called "The Satyr," and sometimes also "The Masque of Oriana," from a song in it which gave that name to the queen. James and his consort were crowned on July 25, 1603; but a royal proclamation had been issued fourteen days previously, warning all persons that on account of the presence of the plague, the king was content to forbear "all such ceremonyes of honor and pompe used by our progenitors, as may drawe over great confluence of people to our city." In spite of all precautions, however, there were as many as 857 deaths within the week of the coronation. The deferred state procession took place on March 15, 1604, when the King, Queen Anne, and Prince Henry "passed triumphantly" from the Tower to Whitehall through the streets of London. Jonson with Dekker then took part in arranging the inscriptions, emblems, allegorical groups, and speeches of gratulation for this event; and each writer published his own portion separately.

"The Satyr."

Another entertainment, "The Penates," was written by Ben Jonson for presentation on May Day before King James and his queen at the house of Sir William Cornwallis, near Highgate, and two more were written to be presented to the king as part of Robert Cecil's entertainment of the king at Theobalds.

"The Penates."

On one of these occasions James went with his wife's brother, Christian IV. of Denmark, when both their majesties got drunk. James enjoyed himself so well at Theobalds that he arranged with Robert Cecil, whom he made Earl of Salisbury, to exchange for it the queen's dower-house at Hatfield.

"The Masque of Blackness."

Ben Jonson's first masque for the queen was "The Masque of Blackness," produced on Twelfth Night in 1605, at the beginning of the old Carnival time, the usual date for the beginning of such revels. The four-year-old Prince Charles—then a sickly child, who had been brought to England from Dunfermline in the preceding summer—was formally installed on that day as Duke of York. This was the time also of the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert to the Lady Susan Vere. It had pleased the queen's fancy, by way of change from her fair ivory skin, to masquerade on that occasion with eleven of her ladies as negresses. She danced, it is said, with the Spanish ambassador, who when he kissed her majesty's hand, was not sure what colour his lips might assume.

Among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum is a copy of "The Masque of Blackness" in Ben Jonson's handwriting.

The machinery of the masque was thus described by Sir Dudley Carlton:—"There was a great engine at the lower end of the room which had motion, and in it were the images of sea-horses with other terrible fishes, which were ridden by the Moors. The indecorum was that there was all fish and no water. At the further end was a great shell, in the form of a scallop, wherein were four seats. On the lowest sat the queen with my lady Bedford; on the rest were placed the ladies Suffolk, Derby, etc."

Next year brought Inigo Jones to London; and he provided the machinery for Jonson's "Hymenæi," acted at Christmas, 1606, for the marriage of young Robert Devereux,

Earl of Essex, who by the desire and arrangement of the king, was married at the age of fourteen to Frances Howard, younger daughter of the Earl of Suffolk. This was that unhappy marriage which was ended in 1613 by a divorce and the lady's marriage to the king's favourite, Robert Carr, created Earl of Somerset. "The Barriers" followed on the night after "The Masque of Hymen."

"Hymenæi."

"The Masque of Beauty," produced during Christmas, 1608-9, met the queen's wish for a sequel to "The Masque of Blackness."

"Masque of Beauty."

The next masque in the series, "The Hue and Cry after Cupid," was presented with especial pomp at Whitehall on Shrove Tuesday, 1608, upon the marriage of Sir John Ramsey, who was, at the beginning of the reign, the king's chief favourite. It was he who, being then his henchman, had searched for King James in Gowrie House, found him in the clutch of Alexander Ruthven, rescued him, and stabbed the aggressor. For the aid then given—to which Ben Jonson refers in the masque as "the honour to be saver of his king"—Ramsey was made Viscount Haddington, and he was now married, by the king's desire, to Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex. "The Masque of Queens," like that of "Blackness," is to be found in Ben Jonson's own handwriting among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum, where it includes a Dedication to Prince Henry. It is there called only "The Twelfth Night Revels." This was presented at Court on the second of February, 1609.

"Hue and Cry after Cupid."

"The Masque of Queens."

Ben Jonson's "Masque of Oberon," preceded by "The Barriers," was written for Prince Henry, and produced on the first of January, 1611. At the same Christmas time, Ben Jonson's masques of "Love freed from Ignorance and Folly" and "Love

Other Masques.

Restored" were produced for the queen. In the course of the next year "The Challenge at Tilt" was produced at Court.

In October, 1612, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine came to be married to the Princess Elizabeth. Prince Henry, at the age of nineteen, died of typhoid fever on the sixth of the next following November. The days of mourning for the death—a mourning which Prince Henry's character had made sincere and national—clouded the first weeks of rejoicing for the marriage. There were no masques till Shrove Tuesday, when the Court produced one by Dr. Thomas Campion, "The Lord's Masque." There was also a masque written by George Chapman, produced by the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn, and another by Francis Beaumont, produced by the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn; Inigo Jones providing the machinery and decorations for all three.

Marriage of Princess Elizabeth; Death of Prince Henry.

Ben Jonson's "Irish Masque" was presented at Court on the twenty-ninth of December, 1613, three nights after another by Campion on the marriage of Carr, Earl of Somerset, with the Countess of Essex, who had, by a majority of seven to five, obtained a decree of nullity of marriage with young Robert Devereux. A masque by Ben Jonson, "Mercury vindicated from the Alchemists," was produced on Twelfth Night, 1615. Then followed his "Golden Age Restored," acted on New Year's Day and Twelfth Day, 1616; "The Masque of Christmas," Twelfth Night, 1617, repeated on the nineteenth of January; "The Masque of Lethe," for the entertainment of the French Ambassadors, on the twenty-second of February, 1617; and "The Vision of Delight," at Christmas, 1617. This was called also "The Prince's Masque," because Prince Charles took a part in it. The opening lines, spoken by Delight, express the whole conception of a masque, with its

songs and dances, its grace and wit in the inventions of the poet only tending to goodwill and wonder at the quick changes in the shows produced by ingenuity of the artist—

> "Let us play, and dance, and sing,
> Let us now turn every sort
> Of the pleasures of the spring
> To the graces of a court,
> From air, from cloud, from dreams, from toys,
> To sounds, to sense, to love, to joys;
> Let your shows be new as strange,
> Let them oft and sweetly vary;
> Let them haste so to their change
> As the seërs may not tarry:
> Too long to expect the pleasing'st sight
> Doth take away from the delight."

The last of the seventeen masques produced by Jonson before the Queen's death was called "Pleasure reconciled to Virtue." This was acted on Twelfth Night, 1618;* and to it there was added on Shrove Tuesday "The Honour of Wales," as an anti-masque. Queen Anne's days of health were now gone. She died of dropsy on the second of March, 1619, and lay long in state before her burial on the thirteenth of May. Her jewellery was valued at £400,000; much of it had been received in gifts, but in 1611 she owed nine thousand pounds to her jeweller. It was also estimated that King James saved £60,000 a year by being freed from the expenses of his consort and her Court. But he missed her, for her liveliness had made her a pleasant companion. Her luxury made her a patroness, in her own way, of poets and architects. To Ben Jonson especially, but not exclusively, she looked for the invention of her masques, and to Inigo Jones, the great architect not only

Death of the Queen Consort.

* The traditional date, 1619, is incorrect; see the Bibliography under *Jonson* ("Masques," No. 17).

for the planning of their costly machinery, but also for the direction of her building works at Greenwich and elsewhere.

Ben Jonson's Masques from 1619 to 1625.

Ben Jonson wrote six more masques for the Court between the death of the queen-consort and that of King James on the twenty-seventh of March, 1625. In 1621 he produced "News from the New World in the Moon," and "The Masque of Gipsies Metamorphosed"; in 1622, "The Masque of Augurs"; in 1623, "Time Vindicated;" and in 1624, "Neptune's Triumph on the Return of Albion." Albion was "Baby Charles," the Prince of Wales, who, on the seventeenth of February, 1623, had gone off with Buckingham, as John and Thomas Smith, disguised in beards—"sweet boys," as the king said, "and dear venturous knights, worthy to be put in a new romance"—to see the Spanish Infanta. Neptune restored them safely to land at Portsmouth on the fifth of October. Ben Jonson's masque was not acted on Twelfth Night, because the king was absent; it was deferred till the next Sunday, the ninth of January. The last of the masques produced by Ben Jonson in King James's reign was "Pan's Anniversary," in the last year of the king's life.

CHAPTER XIII.

BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER—PLAYS CONNECTED WITH THE NAME OF SHAKESPEARE.

BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER, whose plays belong entirely to the reign of James I., were friends of Ben Jonson; each of them prefixed verses to the first publication of "Volpone" in 1607, and of "Catiline" in 1611; while Beaumont also furnished lines before the "Silent Woman" in 1609. Jonson, on his part, spoke of Fletcher as being "loved of him;" and when the "Faithful Shepherdess" failed to be appreciated by the

> "many-headed bench, that sits
> Upon the life and death of plays and wits,"

wrote consolatory verse to his friend; while it was in reply to Beaumont's metrical letter that the older poet declared—

> "How I do love thee, Beaumont, and thy Muse,
> That unto me doth such religion use!
> How I do fear myself, that am not worth
> The least indulgent thought thy pen drops forth!"

John Fletcher, the elder of the two friends, was born at Rye in December, 1579, when his father—who fifteen years afterwards succeeded John Aylmer as Bishop of London *—was vicar there. He was educated at home and at Benet

* "E. W." x. 213.

College, Cambridge; afterwards came to London, and it has sometimes been considered began his career as a dramatist in partnership with Beaumont with "The Woman Hater," published in 1607, the same year as "Volpone." It was printed without author's name, and is now usually ascribed to Beaumont alone.

Beaumont and Fletcher.

Francis Beaumont was five years younger than Fletcher, and was the third son of Sir Francis Beaumont, of Grace-Dieu, Leicester, Justice of the Common Pleas. Born in 1584, he was admitted in his thirteenth year a gentleman commoner of Broadgate Hall (now Pembroke College), Oxford, but upon his father's death in April, 1598, left the University without a degree, and in November, 1600, was entered of the Inner Temple. Before he was nineteen there was published a paraphrase of Ovid's tale of "Salmacis and Hermaphroditus," which nearly forty years afterwards was inserted in a volume of doubtful poems bearing Beaumont's name.* In 1607, when he was twenty-three and Fletcher twenty-eight, they wrote their lines in praise of Ben Jonson's "Volpone." Thenceforth, until the year 1614 at least, Beaumont and Fletcher—close friends—worked together for the players. John Aubrey tattles that they lived together on the Bankside, in Southwark, near the Globe, and had everything, even clothes, in common; it is likely that at first they lodged together. Fletcher depended upon his earnings, but Beaumont had private means, and married, about three years before his death, Ursula, daughter of Henry Isley of Sundridge, in Kent, and it seems probable that he ceased to write for the stage soon after. Of his two children, Elizabeth and Frances, the latter, born after her father's death, was alive in the year 1700. Beaumont died in March, 1616, a few weeks before Shakespeare; all plays, therefore, that are the joint work of Beaumont and Fletcher

* See the Bibliography, under *Beaumont*.

were produced during the ten years between 1606 and 1616. John Fletcher was not only five years older than Beaumont, but he survived him nine years, and was sole author of many of the plays known as Beaumont and Fletcher's.

The first collected edition of these did not appear till 1647, twenty-two years after the death of Fletcher, and thirty-one after that of Beaumont. A folio volume was then issued with the title "Comedies and Tragedies. Written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Gentlemen. Never printed before, and now published by the Authours originall Copies." This edition, as the title intimates, purposely excluded works which had already appeared in quarto, and contained only thirty-five plays. The second folio, which was issued in 1679, thirty-two years afterwards, contained the complete works as then known—fifty-two plays. Since then several additions have been made. Weber, in his edition of 1812, first printed from a manuscript in his possession a play called "The Faithful Friends." This was entered in the Stationers' books on June 29, 1660, as by Beaumont and Fletcher; but is now practically rejected. The same entry makes mention of two other plays, one of which is lost; and the other—"A Right Woman," by Beaumont and Fletcher—was considered to be so, until Mr. Dyce suggested that it might survive in an altered form in a play by Massinger, licensed in 1634, and called "A Very Woman;" for the prologue to this declares it to be a new version of an older play. Mr. A. H. Bullen discovered in the British Museum (Additional MS. 18,653) a third play—"Sir John van olden Barnaveldt." This deals with the history of the eminent Dutch statesman whose life has in recent times been written by the American historian Motley, and was acted in August, 1619, about three months after the execution of Barnaveldt. The play was printed by Mr. Bullen in the second volume of his

"Old Plays," 1883; it is anonymous, but has been ascribed on internal evidence to Fletcher and Massinger. If "Henry VIII." be added to these, we have the whole fifty-six plays in which even suggested traces of the work of Beaumont or Fletcher are to be found.

In this large collection the share of Fletcher is decidedly the greater. "The Masque of the Inner Temple" (acted February 20, 1612, and published anonymously in 1613) is ascribed in the 1647 folio to Beaumont; "The Woman Hater" (printed 1607, and stated in the prologue to be by one writer) is now usually also assigned to him. It is doubtful if he wrote any other plays alone. Sixteen plays, however, are universally ascribed to Fletcher alone; while in twenty-five others—not including "The Faithful Friends"—it is considered that Beaumont had little or no share, but that Fletcher worked in conjunction with, or had his plays as we now possess them, altered or completed by Massinger, Rowley, Field, and others. In two other plays Fletcher's work is usually held to be united with that of Shakespeare. Ten others remain to be considered.

Out of the fifty-two plays included in the 1679 edition, only six were printed before Beaumont's death in 1616; six others, however, are known to have been acted before that date. To these may be added "Four Plays in One"—*i.e.* four brief dramas written to be acted on the same occasion, or, as it was then termed, "in one;" for, although this was not printed till the 1647 folio, it is universally considered to contain the work of both Beaumont and Fletcher. These thirteen plays, however, include Fletcher's "Faithful Shepherdess," Beaumont's "Masque," and the "Woman Hater;" and it is not now usual to trace the united work of Beaumont and Fletcher in plays not included in the remaining ten. This has been done at times, and, in view of the still uncertain state of our knowledge of the chronology of the plays, it cannot be maintained that Beaumont's hand is

nowhere to be seen except in those dramas which were published, or which we at present know to have been acted, during his lifetime. On the other hand, it is also known that Fletcher, even during Beaumont's lifetime, did not confine his literary partnership to him; for among the 'Henslowe Papers" is a letter which mentions a play written by Fletcher, Field, Daborne, and Massinger. As this is unnamed, we can only speculate as to whether it is among the existing collection or not. That Beaumont's share in the thirty-five plays published in 1647 was slight may be gathered from lines written by Sir Aston Cokain in his "Small Poems of Divers Sorts," printed in 1658. This little volume of lame metre contains a limping letter addressed "To my Cousin, Mr. Charles Cotton," a friend of Fletcher.

> "I wonder (Cousin) that you would permit
> So great an Injury to *Fletchers* wit,
> Your friend and old Companion, that his fame
> Should be divided to anothers name.
> . . . . . .
> . . . . For what a foul
> And unexcusable fault it is (that whole
> Volume of plays being almost every one
> After the death of *Beaumont* writ) that none
> Would certifie them so much."

He also states that

> "Had *Beaumont* lived when this Edition came
> Forth, and beheld his ever living name
> Before Plays that he never writ, how he
> Had frown'd and blush'd at such Impiety."

However limited the group may be in which the work of the two friends is united, it yet contains the noblest portion of the whole. Limited it undoubtedly is, since there are only five plays which all agree in assigning to Beaumont

and Fletcher. These are "Philaster" (acted by 1610), "A King no King" (licensed 1611), "The Maid's Tragedy" (acted before Oct. 31, 1611, when the "*Second* Maid's Tragedy" was licensed), "The Scornful Lady" (between 1609 and 1616), and "Four Plays in One." "The Knight of the Burning Pestle," usually ascribed to both writers, contains so little trace of Fletcher's hand that it is sometimes given to Beaumont alone. In three other plays, "Cupid's Revenge" (acted Jan., 1612), "The Coxcomb" (acted by Nov. 24, 1612), and "The Captain" (acted by May 20, 1613), there is a doubtful tendency to trace the presence of other writers as well as Beaumont and Fletcher. In the last of the ten, the "Honest Man's Fortune" ("plaide in the yeare 1613"), it is now usually considered that Fletcher did not work with Beaumont; but in "Wit at Several Weapons," not published till 1647, it is possible that Beaumont's work is united with what is certainly that of Fletcher.

The wit and poetry of these plays were spent chiefly on themes of love. Their authors, capable of higher flights, so far accommodated their good work to the lower tone of the playhouse as to earn praise for having "understood and imitated much better than Shakespeare the conversation of gentlemen whose wild debaucheries and quickness of wit in repartees no poet can ever paint as they have done. Humour, which Ben Jonson derived from particular persons, they made it not their business to describe; they represented all the passions very lively." So Beaumont and Fletcher were praised by Dryden in the time of Charles II., when their plays were "the most pleasant and frequent entertainments of the stage, two of theirs being acted through the year for one of Shakespeare's or Jonson's."

Peculiar interest is thus attached to the fate of one

play in the period of this later Stuart popularity. "The Maid's Tragedy," acted not later than 1610-11, is one of the masterpieces of Beaumont and Fletcher, and, as first produced, it represented the tragic fate of a wicked king of Rhodes, and closed with the words— "The Maid's Tragedy."

> "On lustful kings
> Unlook'd for sudden deaths from Heav'n are sent,
> But curst is he that is their instrument."

Here was the good Elizabethan sense of common right and duty, guarded by a line in recognition of the sacredness of royal persons. Evadne has fallen through pride to be the mistress of a king, who endeavours to shield himself by marrying her to Amintor. In order to fulfil the royal mandate, Amintor has had to quit Aspatia, the maiden to whom he had plighted troth; only to learn upon his wedding night the wrong the king has done him. But even then revenge seems beyond his conception—

> "Oh, thou hast named a word that wipes away
> All thoughts revengeful! In that sacred name
> 'The king' there lies a terror. What frail man
> Dares lift his hand against it? Let the gods
> Speak to him when they please; till when, let us
> Suffer and wait."

The gods do speak, through the spirit of Evadne's brother, Melantius, a noble soldier with a will as firm as her own, who, when he learns the truth, makes his sister feel that the royal blood alone can wash away the stain which rests upon their house. The closing act, in which vengeance is taken, reaches a tragic intensity never elsewhere attained in the whole range of Beaumont and Fletcher's work. With the decision of a Charlotte Corday, Evadne passes among the gossiping grooms to the royal apartment. Relentless, Clytemnestra-like, she bends over the sleeping and helpless

king; no memories of the past unnerve her as they did Lady Macbeth, but only add force to the blows which fall upon the wakened monarch.

> "This for my lord Amintor!
> This for my noble brother! and this stroke
> For the most wronged of women!"

Meanwhile, the broken-hearted Aspatia in disguise has drawn upon herself a death-thrust from the hand of the unsuspecting and reluctant Amintor. She lies dying when Evadne enters her husband's room with the king's blood upon her hands that she may confess her deed.

> "'Tis done; and, since I could not find a way
> To meet thy love, so clear as through his life,
> I cannot now repent it."

She casts herself at her husband's feet to plead for pardon for the wrong she had done him. "Forgive me then . . we may not part . . take me home. . . Receive me then." But to Amintor she seems but a "monster of cruelty;" he bursts from her: she rises and looks after him, exclaiming

> "Amintor, thou shalt love me now again.
> Go; I am calm. Farewell, and peace for ever!"

and plunges the blood-stained knife to her own heart. The climax is attained when Amintor, between the two women, the one dead the other dying, bends over the wounded Aspatia, is reconciled to her, and dies with her.

Coleridge has declared that Beaumont and Fletcher were "servile *jure divino* Royalists." This is true of Amintor: but are poets to be identified with their creations? Certainly in the days of the king who "never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one," Waller managed to surpass his royal master by both doing and speaking

foolishly when he rewrote in rhyme this fifth act to suit the taste of the day. No king was slain, and Evadne was sent to a nunnery! In Charles II.'s days, at least, the play was not deemed too servile in its loyalty.

"The Faithful Shepherdess," produced before May, 1610, was by Fletcher alone, and was above the playhouse-standard of taste and morality, being a pastoral play in praise of maiden innocence, daintily versified and most pure in its design, although its moral is sometimes enforced by scenes which, as men now judge, depict too freely the evil they condemn. That is a question only of change in conventional opinion; the true mind of the play is pure.

"The Knight of the Burning Pestle" was a lively burlesque on the taste for high-flown romances, which Cervantes had attacked five or six years before in his "Don Quixote." A citizen, speaking from among the audience, stops the actors at their prologue, says there shall be a grocer in the play, and he shall do admirable things. The citizen's wife says he shall kill a lion with a pestle; and their man, Ralph, is the man to do it. Ralph, being thus forced on the players, burlesques the taste for Palmerin of England;* he appears, with squire and dwarf, as a knight, and swears by his ancestor Amadis of Gaul; has an inn described to him as an ancient castle held by the old knight of the most holy order of "The Bell," who has three squires—Chamberlino, Tapstero, and Ostlero—and, when the tapster answers a lance-knock at the door, Ralph addresses him in this fashion—

A Burlesque on Extravagant Romance.

> "Fair Squire Tapstero, I, a wandering knight,
> Hight of the burning Pestle, in the quest
> Of this fair lady's casket and wrought purse,
> Losing myself in this vast wilderness,

* See the Bibliography under *A. Munday* for a list of some translations of such Romances.

Am to this castle well by fortune brought,
Where hearing of the goodly entertain
Your knight of holy order of 'The Bell'
Gives to all damsels and all errant knights,
I thought to knock, and now am bold to enter."

This earliest burlesque in our dramatic literature was evidently following the lead of "Don Quixote." It was in 1605, at a time corresponding to the second year of the reign of James I. in England, that Cervantes published the first part of his "Don Quixote"; the second part—still better than the first—was published in 1615. Beaumont and Fletcher's burlesque on the affected forms into which tales of chivalry had degenerated was published anonymously in 1613; it was written, however, by 1610 or 1611.

In the conflict that brought Spain and England into opposition, and that touched all Europe to the quick, the two great centres of activity were London and Madrid. The quickened energies developed in each city a vigorous intellectual life, and the Spanish drama rose at the same time with ours to its full height. The great developer of Spanish drama, Lope de Vega, was but seventeen months older than Shakespeare. He sailed in the great Spanish Armada; he exulted in a poem of ten cantos—the "Dragontea"—upon the death of Drake; and called Queen Elizabeth the "Scarlet Lady of Babylon." Lope de Vega lived till 1635, and was writing throughout the reign of James I., while Calderon, the next great Spanish dramatist, born at the end of Elizabeth's reign, was growing up to manhood. None of Lope's plays, however, were published till the "Novena Parte," in 1617, and the influence of Spain upon the Stuart drama was felt like that of Italy under Elizabeth—through its novels. A number of Fletcher's plays are based upon these.

The spirit of poetical romance in Beaumont and Fletcher's serious plays may be illustrated by the story of

"*Philaster.*"

This is mentioned in the Epigrams of John Davies of Hereford, published in 1611, and was produced, therefore, before that year. Dryden says there was a tradition that "Philaster" was the first play by which Beaumont and Fletcher obtained conspicuous success as dramatists; and it may, perhaps, have been acted in 1608 or 1609. With "The Maid's Tragedy" it takes the highest place among the works of Beaumont or Fletcher.

To enter fully into the spirit of the drama, one must not only recall the tendency toward Romance in the days of Sidney's "Arcadia" and Montemayor's "Diana," but also the intense feeling of antipathy toward Spain which was manifested at the time when Wyatt rose in rebellion against Mary's match with Philip, and continued in Elizabeth's reign to find expression in petty conflicts on the Spanish Main; which gloried in the defeated Armada and in "singeing the King of Spain's beard;" and saw in every Spaniard but the embodiment of overweening self-esteem. For when the scene opens at Messina, in Sicily, the courtiers are gathered in the royal palace to behold the public betrothal of the daughter of the King of Calabria and Sicily to Prince Pharamond of Spain. As they wait they discuss the future in the light of the past. Sicily has been conquered by the king of the neighbouring Calabria; but Philaster, heir to the Sicilian throne, is still living, and Dion, an old soldier who had drawn blood in the former wars, feels that trouble is in store for the stranger prince who shall try to enjoy the dual crown. Philaster is beloved of the people and mistrusted by the present King, and had proved a very thorn in his side, for at the mere threat of imprisonment the city had risen in insurrection. What, then, will be the case under a Spanish ruler?

As they thus forecast the future the royal party draws near. The speech from the throne announces not only the approaching marriage, but a speedy abdication—"within this month, at most"—in favour of the son-in-law. The reply of the Spanish prince, though presumably uttered in Sicily, flows unmistakably from the pen of an English playwright. It indeed "calls him Spaniard, being nothing but a large inventory of his own commendations." He reminds the King—

> "To what a person, of what eminence,
> Ripe expectation, of what faculties,
> Manners, and virtues, you would wed your kingdom."

While to the Princess he declares—

> "You are the blessedest living; for, sweet princess,
> You shall enjoy a man of men to be

Your servant; you shall make him yours, for whom
Great queens must die."

It is at this juncture that Philaster enters. The position of this prince, amiable, beloved by the people, ousted from his kingdom, lonely, brave, but irresolute, and needing a spur to action, presents at times an obvious parallel to that of Hamlet, just as the ease with which he falls into mistrust of the one whom he loves may afterwards lead the mind to think of Othello. But how far Shakespeare's creation was present to the writer's mind we cannot say. The whole details of treatment differ. The opening events of the play, however, form a crisis in the life of Philaster, as is the case with Hamlet. Now or never, it would seem, he must take decided action if he would not for ever see his father's kingdom pass from him; and the presence of the foreign princekin has aroused him at last.

"This earth you tread upon,
A dowry, as you hope, with this fair princess,
. . . . . was not left
To your inheritance, and I up and living—
Having myself about me and my sword,
The souls of all my name and memories."

And when the King, conscience-stricken and pale with fear at this unexpected outburst, declares that Philaster must surely be "possessed," the excited Prince aptly seizes upon the word—

"Yes, with my father's spirit. It's here, O King,
A dangerous spirit! Now he tells me, King,
I was a king's heir, bids me be a king,
And whispers me, these are all my subjects."

The quick eye of Dion sees the Spaniard tremble, and the cold sweat stand on the King's brow, as he sweeps out of the audience chamber, uttering an empty threat of punishment.

The courtiers gather round Philaster. Dion, who would strike while the iron is hot, tries to induce the Prince to follow out in action his stout words—"Shrink not, worthy sir, but add your father to you." There is, indeed, a Hamlet-like touch when Philaster, after pointedly asking those around, "Do you love me?"—words which seem to be the immediate prelude of a call to action if he can only be sure of the support of his followers—abruptly breaks away from the whole subject, and questions Dion about his daughter, who, "for the penance but of

an idle dream, has undertook a tedious pilgrimage." Further speech is effectually prevented by the arrival of a lady from the Princess, requesting the attendance of Philaster. The courtiers fear a snare. The King's closing threat—"I'll make you tamer!"—rings in their ears. May this not be his act? But as Hamlet will not be restrained by fear of any danger from following the ghost, so no persuasion can withhold Philaster.

"Danger in a sweet face!
By Jupiter, I must not fear a woman!"

The ensuing scene is a bold one. The very events which had called forth the spirit of Philaster have also created a crisis in the life of Arethusa. She now stands committed by public declaration to a marriage with a man from whom she instinctively shrinks. The excitement of the late stirring scene is not over, and it had not increased her respect for her destined husband when she saw him side by side with the Sicilian prince. Her own heart, it would seem, was then revealed to her, and she can see but one way of escape from her threatened doom. Thus, words which would otherwise have never passed her lips are forced from them now. While the tread of the Spaniard's foot is momentarily expected without, as he shall come to woo her, Arethusa, in words of assumed reproach, rebukes Philaster for publicly claiming part of her dowry. Both kingdoms—Calabria and Sicily—she must have. "I must, and will have them, and more—" Upon this word she pauses, for what is the further avowal? In such a crisis it does not seem unmaidenly when it comes—"I must have them *and thee!*" The declaration is sudden and startling, and just as sudden is the avowal of Philaster's love. It doubtless had long been nestling unknown within his bosom, only peering forth at times beneath the mask of loyal devotion, a restraining influence withholding him from any attempt upon the throne; for would not that involve wrong to Arethusa? Now it casts aside all disguise, and, Minerva-like, leaps forth full-grown. The Spanish prince may now appear, may wonder at Philaster's presence, and may speak of his "slighted greatness." The triumphant Philaster grasps the air with empty hand: "Sir, I can grasp you and your greatness thus—thus into nothing." And he is gone.

Before Philaster left, however, he had arranged a means of communication between himself and Arethusa. It is one sign of the charm of this scene that the somewhat lengthy description of the finding by Philaster of the boy Bellario, through whom communication is to take place, dramatically unsuitable as it really is, is scarcely felt to be so.

Every moment of this stolen interview is precious, the Spaniard may arrive at any minute, and yet we do not wish the idyllic verses one line shorter. The passage, of which the following are the opening lines, is one of the most familiar in Beaumont and Fletcher—

> "Hunting the buck,
> I found him sitting by a fountain's side,
> Of which he borrowed some to quench his thirst,
> And paid the nymph as much again in tears," etc.

Bellario, thus found, had been the faithful attendant of Philaster; and, now, confident in his truth and devotion, the prince will send him to Arethusa. The boy pleads to remain; "promotion" he has no desire for; yet out of love he will submit that he may do his master service. As he goes, he utters a prayer for Heaven's blessing upon the one he is leaving, and closes with prophetic words too soon to be fulfilled; "And Heaven curse those you curse, though I be one." So Bellario passes to serve Arethusa, and at the command of the princess is dressed in richest robes, so that by a slight visible token she may, through the servant, render honour to the loved master. Of this master the princess at once questions the lad. "Does your lord love me?" Read in the light of future events, there is an exquisite pathos in the reply; —"Love, madam! *I know not what it is.*"

But life, even in Sicily, is not all romance. The earthly minded Spaniard has revealed himself in his true colours, and thus seems to afford Arethusa a chance of escape; for even her father is moved to such indignation that he welcomes the prospect of breaking off the proposed union. But any satisfaction that may spring from the timely discovery of the true character of the would-be son-in-law, is more than done away with, when from the lips of the foul-mouthed Megra an accusation of infidelity is hurled at his own daughter. "I know the boy she keeps, a handsome boy about eighteen." Thus the king has his first news of Bellario, and of his daughter's love for him.

The three people most concerned, Arethusa, Bellario, and Philaster, have still to learn of the accusation. There is true tragic irony—twofold, we ultimately learn—in making the soldier Dion, devoted as he is to Philaster, the means of disclosing the supposed guilt of the princess to him. Like others, he knows nothing of Philaster's love for Arethusa, and only sees a potent, and now surely effectual, means of deciding the halting prince to action. Knowing naught beyond the common rumour, yet to gain his point he will act the part of a pure-minded Iago—

"I'll make the new report to be my knowledge;
I'll say I know it; nay, I'll swear I saw it."

And like an Othello, Philaster takes the poison; but it does not work as Dion hoped. The fall of the princess can now be no incentive to action: if she is false the springs of action are snapped, and the prospect of a kingdom of no avail. His vehement outbursts stagger his informants, and almost disclose the secret of the love which he strives to conceal under general expressions—

"When any fall from virtue
I am distract; I have an interest in 't."

It is in vain for Dion to beseech: "But, good my lord, recall yourself, and think what's best to be done." The thoughts of Philaster are elsewhere, and he would be alone with them. When thus left alone, Bellario enters with loving messages from the princess. Just as the unconscious little maiden in the modern poem wrings the heart of the Queen with her prattle of the deeds of Arthur's court, so here does the ignorant Bellario, as he thinks to please his late master by tales of the new mistress, torture Philaster with the story of her tenderness. The prince can only see in this a confirmation of Dion's words; beside himself, he draws his sword to take the guilty boy's life: but so sweetly does the lad maintain his innocence, that the sword is sheathed, for Philaster owns that he "does swear so earnestly, that if it were not true, the gods would not endure him."

It is the king in person who accuses his daughter. Quick, sharp, short are his words as he questions her about the boy: simple, direct, wondering are her replies, until she is overwhelmed by the final command—"Cast him off, and suddenly; do it! Farewell." To her thus moved, Philaster enters. He is prepared by his interview with Bellario to acknowledge her innocence, but is startled by the first utterance of the princess; it is a cry for sympathy because her boy is to be sent away. "Why?" "They are jealous of him." "Jealous! Who?" "The king." "Oh, my fortune! Then, 'tis no idle jealousy. Let him go," bursts forth Philaster. In every plea which Arethusa advances on behalf of the lad, the prince only sees confirmation of his suspicions, till finally he breaks from her with cruel words—"Some far place . . . must I seek, and live to curse you: . . . and preach . . . what woman is, . . . how heaven is in your eyes, but in your hearts more hell than hell has; . . . how that foolish man, that reads the story of a woman's face, and dies believing it, is lost for ever."

The royal hunting party, in which Arethusa is forced to take part, and where within the wood she meets both Philaster and Bellario, is the least pleasing and most unnatural portion of the drama. A feeling of shame falls on us when Philaster raises his sword to wound first Arethusa and then the sleeping Bellario, so that the bloodstained boy may be supposed guilty of the princess's wounds. Further shame follows when at the bidding of the awakened but still unselfish lad he crawls away to hide among the bushes, so that Bellario may openly claim to be the guilty one. Not even the scene which ensues, when the repentant Philaster comes forth to take the guilt upon himself and acknowledge to the full his appreciation of Bellario, can atone for this. Both are sent to prison under Arethusa's care.

In the closing act Philaster, expecting death, is in prison with these two. It is no wonder that he is broken down in presence of the woman and the lad whom he so deeply wronged.

> "I am a man
> False to a pair of the most trusty ones
> That ever earth bore; can it bear us all?
> Forgive, and leave me. . . .
> People will tear me when they find you true
> To such a wretch as I; I shall die loathed."

True to the spirit of Romance, when Philaster next appears it is not at the headsman's block, but he steps forth in the royal presence as the husband of Arethusa, whom he leads towards her father, while Bellario in poetic strain breaks the news to him! The king would fain now seek not only the death of Philaster, but that of his own daughter; but sudden news comes that the city is in arms to save the loved prince, that the unpopular Spaniard is in the hands of the insurgents, and that Philaster alone can quell the rising. The alarmed monarch at once submits.

> "Calm the people,
> And be what you were born to: take your love,
> And with her my repentance, all my wishes,
> And all my prayers."

As the triumphant Philaster returns to claim his bride and his throne, the voice of Megra is once more raised to utter her venomous charges. That the truth may be revealed without further delay, Bellario is at once seized, and torture is about to be applied. One confession can alone save him. It is made to Dion—to Dion, who had

accused the boy so falsely to the prince; to Dion, whose conscience had pricked him in the wood, when, seeing the lad's devotion to Philaster, he had exclaimed, "Is't not a brave boy? Well, sirs, I fear we are all deceived." To this Dion confession is now made, that all *are* indeed deceived, for the "boy" Bellario is Dion's own daughter Euphrasia! The father's mind flashes back over the past, and the reader needs to recall it, in order to realise the tragic intensity of his words—

> "Oh, that thou hadst died!
> And I had never seen thee, *nor my shame*."

The whole past now assumes a different aspect to every reader; the devotion of the "boy," which Philaster declared "would outdo story," seems more wondrous still when in it we trace the loving constancy of the unselfish maiden who had bowed to serve her rival, and had never by word or look—even in times of greatest opportunity—done aught to lower her in the esteem of Philaster; and yet 'twas she who said, "*Love, madam! I know not what it is!*"

It was at Syracuse that this Elaine of olden days first saw her Launcelot come riding through the gate:

> "After you were gone
> I grew acquainted with my heart, and searched
> What stirred it so: alas, I found it love!"

And so that she might be near him, she had feigned a pilgrimage; and vowing never to be known, had sat beside the fountain where Philaster had discovered her.

It was surely with dramatic fitness that Beaumont and Fletcher laid the scene of this their greatest romantic play in Sicily, for Sicilian air could breathe the spirit of romance even into the bosom of the Cyclops Polypheme; Sicilian fields could tempt the grisly Pluto from the realms below to bear away Persephone from the flowers of Enna; and Sicilian Syracuse was not only the home of Bellario-Euphrasia, but of the equally devoted friends Damon and Pythias, whose story may perchance have been one element in prompting the conception of the constant Bellario; and it is on the temple steps of Syracuse that a modern poet has placed his sweet "Wild pomegranate flower," Balaustion, to sing the story of that devoted wife, Alcestis, who in her self-sacrifice gave even life itself to save her husband.

The wish of Arethusa that Euphrasia should live with her and Philaster—"Come live with me; . . . she that loves my lord, cursed be the wife that hates her!"—is noble, but it is one of those romantic

touches from which the realities of life shrink. How would the realistic mind of the author of Rebecca and Rowena have conceived, and how could his hand have drawn, the sequel? Poetically, one feels that the tender "Euphrasia" could only find rest in that lasting sleep which "Bellario" had described as

> "A quiet resting from all jealousy,
> A thing we all pursue; I know, besides,
> It is but giving over of a game
> That must be lost."

"Cupid's Revenge" (acted Jan., 1612) is a Romantic Tragedy, the theme and some of the details of which are founded on the episode of the King of Lydia and his daughter Erona, in the second book of Sidney's "Arcadia." Cupid, having been slighted, his altars overthrown, and his rites neglected, takes vengeance by inspiring the king and others with affection for unworthy objects. This, which might, as in the "Midsummer Night's Dream," turn to comedy, assumes a tragic form through the passions aroused, and results in the death of the principal characters. This play was first printed in 1615, with Fletcher's name only. Mr. Dyce's opinion, however, that it contains the work of both authors is universally accepted, although attempts have been made of late years to trace other hands also. "A King no King" (licensed 1611) was during the later Stuart days one of the most popular plays. Dryden considered it Beaumont and Fletcher's best work, "the most approaching to antiquity and the most conducing to move pity." But some portions, which would find favour in the days of that poet and of Wycherley, now tend to make the play unacceptable. The story of the love of "King" Arbaces—who proves to be no king—for his supposed sister Panthea—who is not his sister—contains, however, some of the most powerful writing of Beaumont and Fletcher.

Beaumont and Fletcher's other plays.

The comedies of these fellow-workers do not bear

comparison with their tragic and pathetic work. "The Scornful Lady" (produced 1609-16) is a vigorous Jonsonesque comedy, but has no claims to greatness. "The Coxcomb" (acted by Nov. 24, 1612) has a higher human interest, and the story of the devotion of Viola to her erring and finally repentant lover has the charm of purity and pathos, which elevates what is really the bye-plot to an interest far surpassing the much less pleasing main theme. Whether Beaumont took part in "Wit at Several Weapons" (the epilogue of which implies that Fletcher did not work alone) cannot be said. There is no evidence as to the date of production, and the merits of the piece are not such that anxiety need be manifested to associate Beaumont with it.

The "Four Plays in One" is an instance of a fashion for representing several plays together upon one occasion. The "Yorkshire Tragedy," which has been ascribed to Shakespeare, is but a portion of a similar series. The chief interest of these four "Triumphs," as they were called—borrowing an Italian usage—is that they seem to supply an otherwise unobtainable key to the dramatic style of Beaumont; for his "Masque" (the only other work known to be wholly his) is, on account of the peculiarities of that form of writing, of slight use in determining it. The first two Triumphs, those of "Honour" and "Love"—both founded on tales from the "Decameron"—are accepted as being by Beaumont, and each is a dwarf drama complete in itself. The Triumph of "Death" is based on a story by Bandello, and like that of "Time," gives evidence of the style of Fletcher.

The presence of Romance is one of the most striking peculiarities of the drama of Beaumont and Fletcher. Before Beaumont's death this manifested itself most noticeably in the blending of the romantic with the tragic and pathetic; while in the plays by Fletcher alone there is a combination of romance and comedy. This might seem of

itself, apart from other indications, to suggest a difference in the nature of the fellow-workers; and the student of their works is inevitably met by several questions. One has already, by implication at least, been suggested, when dealing with the relative shares of the friends in the total work known by their names. It is this: Is it possible successfully to distinguish exactly those plays written by the two fellow-workers? Another, closely interwoven at times with this, but of a still more delicate nature, remains: Granting that such a division may be made, can the relative shares of each writer be isolated? Distance has been no bar to physical science in resolving what had hitherto been considered one star into two, and in even measuring the revolution of the one around the other. Does distance of time effectually preclude any critical skill from similar success in dealing with our older literature? Or, to change the figure, may it not be possible to assume such a standpoint that what has hitherto seemed one mountain peak may, as is often the case in Nature, stand revealed in its twofold character? If we will only be content to allow that the whole outline is not yet, and never will be, fully clear —that mist and clouds must hang about the slopes and crests, this may be granted. The contemporary poet whose commendatory verses were printed in the collected works evidently points to a distinction when he speaks of

> "Fletcher's keen treble and deep Beaumont's bass;"

and the faces of the companions, as they have come down to us, bespeak at once a difference of character. That of Beaumont is more massive, stately, thoughtful, and indicates a quiet sense of power and self-restraint; that of Fletcher is thinner, keener, more bright, eager, and impetuous. Does not this accord with the fact that we think of Beaumont in connection with the tragic and pathetic—with the Aspatia of the "Maid's Tragedy" and the Bellario of "Philaster,"

rather than with the comedy, for instance, of the "Scornful Lady?" And is not Fletcher, although he produced some noble tragic drama, especially the master of bright Romantic comedy?

General characteristics, however, have not been considered sufficient, and attempts have been made during the last twenty years definitely to assign to each writer a distinct share in each play. In some cases of literary co-operation this is a problem of comparatively easy solution. When a Richelieu has a play produced by a brigade of five known writers, each of whom takes one act, even a small critical stone may serve to shatter the Colossus and enable us to examine at leisure the fragments of gold, iron, or clay. But when the conditions of co-operation are wholly unknown, the task is one which calls for the subtlest and most delicate discrimination and the widest range of knowledge; nothing, indeed, short of the touch of the spear of a critical Ithuriel will serve to cause the writers to reveal themselves in their true form. And even granting that considerations of style —using this word in its broadest sense—were wholly decisive as far as the act of writing were concerned, the thoughtful student would demand more. It is barely conceivable that any critic could select from the "Ancient Mariner" the few lines actually contributed by Wordsworth. But what art would enable him to trace that poet in the suggestion of the main motive of the whole, and in the weirdly imaginative detail of navigating the ship by dead men? The influence, so familiar in real life, of one mind upon another, inspiring, restraining, dominating, is it not far too subtle to be analysed? A writer may produce under such influence work which is essentially his own, and yet different in many respects from that produced at any other period of his literary life. And supposing that we were quite clear as to what are exactly the conclusively distinctive marks of the style of two writers who work together, is there not always

a certain domain of "No man's land" which has no distinctive character, and might be allotted to either? Peculiarities of literary style, again, are by no means uniformly maintained, even in the treatment of similar themes. And this being so, a different theme, it must be allowed, may at any time call for a wholly different style. It may be doubted if the "Faithful Shepherdess" would be assigned to Fletcher if it were not known to be his; and it may be further doubted whether all the plays now considered to be by him, owing to the external evidence we possess, would be so adjudged were this evidence wanting.

The consideration of these questions is the more involved because it is known that Fletcher's work is found united, not only with that of Beaumont, but with that of several other writers. One case of such co-operation, even before Beaumont's death, has been mentioned. After that event, we have the documentary evidence of Herbert's "Office Book" that the "Night-Walker" was written with Shirley, and that Rowley took part in the "Maid in the Mill." Sir Aston Cokain, in his Epitaph on Massinger, speaks of that poet's association with Fletcher—"Plays did they write together, were great friends"; and another portion of the Lines to Charles Cotton, from which previous quotation has been made, declares that—

> "Beaumont (in these many) writ in few
> And *Massinger in other few*. The main
> Being sole issue of sweet Fletcher's brain."

Mr. Dyce, half a century ago, distinguished nine plays as written by Fletcher and the three authors above mentioned. Further study has tended to increase the number; and the main feature of modern criticism may be said to have been the attempt to trace the hand of Massinger, whose style presents some marked peculiarities, in a number of the plays previously assigned to Fletcher alone, as well as in a

few of those formerly considered as written with Beaumont. "The Double Marriage," "The Prophetess," "The Sea Voyage," "The Spanish Curate," "The Elder Brother,' and "The Custom of the Country," are six plays in which there is most reason to see the hand of Massinger together with that of Fletcher.*

* A complete list of Beaumont and Fletcher's works will be found in the Bibliography under *Fletcher*. The classification there adopted is based on the work of Dyce, and an endeavour has been made to trace the history of modern criticism by stating in chronological order the chief opinions advanced since Dyce's edition. External evidence is often wholly unreliable; the name given on the title-page of one edition often differs from that on another; prologues and epilogues of different dates imply now one, now two authors; allusions in contemporary authors are sometimes vague. Internal evidence, therefore, has to be sought. The peculiarities of Fletcher's style which have been relied on are the following: –

I. Metrical looseness.

a. An unusual fondness for "double endings;" 70 per cent. of his lines are said to be of this character. Massinger, who approaches him most nearly, has 40 to 50 per cent. (Oliphant.)

b. The added syllable is often *accented*, and therefore cannot be slurred over. (See p. 204 for a passage which may illustrate these points.)

c. A love of short syllables, which sometimes give a dactyllic "canter" to the verse: *e.g.*, "Dŏwn wĭth 'ĕm; dŏwn wĭth 'ĕm: dŏwn wĭth thĕ gātes." (*Loyal Subject* IV. vi.)

d. Several of these short syllables are made to take the place, metrically, of one long one, and lines of 12, 13, 14, and even 15 syllables are found. Even allowing for the corruption of the text, this is noticeable.

II. Metrical stiffness. 90 per cent. of Fletcher's verse, it is said, has a pause at the end of the line ("end stopt"). In this one characteristic, therefore, he returns to the earlier form of blank verse. (See p. 203.)

III. A scant use of rhyme and prose. The latter is not needed, as, owing to the liberties Fletcher takes, his "loose" verse lends

Among the dramas known to have been written by Fletcher alone, Tragedy has but a small share; yet "Bonduca" and "Valentinian," the two plays of this character which he did produce, are noble, dignified, and eloquent, but, like all that Fletcher wrote, appeal to the head rather than to the heart: we admire, we are not moved. "Bonduca," however, contains one scene of true pathos. The British princess who gives

Fletcher's Tragedies.

itself to all the requirements of conversational ease. (As a "test," the absence of prose is of little or no value.)

IV. Rhetorical repetition: *e.g.*, "And *a woman, a woman* beat 'em, Nennius; a *weak woman, a woman* beat these Romans. (*Bonduca*, Act I. Sc. i.)

V. Peculiarities of diction: *e.g.*, a fondness for needless words, like "Sir" and "too," at the end of lines; favourite expletives, etc.

These peculiarities (for which see Darley's Introduction, p. 38-44, ed. 1840; and *Englische Studien* XIV. p. 53, etc.) are gathered from works known to be by Fletcher, and have been used to attempt to determine his share in the plays he wrote with others.

The application of such tests has manifest limitations: *e.g.*, "The Knight of Malta" has been examined with the following results. Mr. Fleay, in 1874, pronounced the play to be by Fletcher and Beaumont; in his "Manual," 1876, he assigned it to Fletcher and Middleton; in the *Englische Studien* IX. p. 22 (1886) this became Fletcher and Field; while in 1889, Vol. XIII. p. 34, Massinger is added as a third author. (Mr. Fleay has also informed us that when he first wrote "Middleton" he meant "Field," and that, when thus venturing to pronounce upon literary style, he actually did not possess a copy of Middleton!—*Eng. St.* IX. p. 24.) Mr. R. Boyle retains Beaumont's name, and finds his work associated with that of Fletcher and Massinger. Mr. Bullen wholly excludes Beaumont, and declares for Fletcher, Massinger, and an unknown writer. Mr. Oliphant goes a step further, and, still excluding Beaumont, says the play is by Fletcher, Massinger, Field together with the remains of an earlier unknown writer!

Outward agreement, again, coexists at times with startling internal discord. Mr. Fleay first saw in "The Honest Man's Fortune" the work of Fletcher, and possibly Massinger; later this became expanded into Fletcher, Massinger, Field, and Daborne, the respective shares of each being assigned. Mr. Oliphant agrees with this as to the authorship,

her name to the play is better known as Boadicea, just as the real hero, Caratach, is more familiar as Caractacus. He is the soul of the national struggle against Rome; truly heroic, appreciative of the valour of his foes, scorning deceit, and chivalrous in the extreme, even to feeding the enemy's spies and sending them away unhurt, or releasing Roman officers who have been basely beguiled to his camp by the wronged daughters of Bonduca. When what had seemed victory is, through the rashness of Bonduca, suddenly turned to defeat, Caratach flies to the woods with his little nephew Hengo. In Act V., Scene 5, the starving boy is gently lowered from their hiding-place by his uncle, in order that he may reach the food which loving hands, it would seem, had placed for the hard-beset fugitives. Guile then works what valour could not achieve; and the lad, pierced by a Roman shaft, is drawn up to die. Caratach bends over the little hero, shedding tears which no sufferings of his own could ever draw from him, and tenderly kisses the dying child. Nowhere else has Fletcher so touched the heart. "Thierry and Theodoret," a play which unites work almost crude enough for "The Spanish Tragedy" with portions of real power, also contains a really pathetic scene in the closing act, where the poisoned, sleepless, and dying king, Thierry, sees

"Bonduca."

"Thierry and Theodoret."

and declares that Mr. Fleay has been "very lucky in making such a good *guess*," and then proceeds to add, "*for his division is almost entirely wrong*"! Mr. Boyle first gave the play to Beaumont and Fletcher, together with an unknown third writer; later he solved this unknown, and extracted the root in the form of Massinger and Tourneur. Finally, Mr. Boyle, who has been one of the chief exponents of this criticism, "fancied" that "The Faithful Friends" was by the same author as "The Laws of Candy" and "The Noble Gentleman;" this author he suggests is Shirley. Mr. Oliphant, a fellow-worker of the same school, pronounces this to be "an opinion that is not worthy of consideration"—a remark evidently of somewhat wider application.

his faithful wife Ordella, whom he supposes dead, approaching him, and imagines her to be a spirit. Wholly different in character, and far less developed, it has still something in common with the reconciliation of Leontes and Hermione in the "Winter's Tale," and the recognition of Cordelia by King Lear. The scene (IV. 1) which Lamb pronounced the finest in Fletcher, and which led him rashly to speak of Ordella as the most perfect idea of female heroic character that has, with one exception, been embodied in fiction, is indeed a noble one; but it has manifest flaws, and it may be doubted whether the whole conception is not more consonant with the spirit of Greek than of English tragedy.

Fletcher's Comedies.

In Comedy proper "Rule a Wife and have a Wife" ranks highest amongst Fletcher's works. It was not licensed till Oct. 19, 1624, but is closely related to "The Taming of the Shrew." A proud beauty has married a poor, dependent husband, who she intends shall act as a screen for her desired mode of life; but just as she seems to have her wishes fulfilled, and is surrounded by a crowd of admirers, the husband asserts his claim not only to have a wife but to rule her. This is so done as to win the respect of all and the affection of his wife.

"Rule a Wife and have a Wife."

"The Wild-goose Chase."

"The Wild-goose Chase," the loss of which was so deeply lamented when the folio edition of 1647 was published, was discovered soon after, and being separately printed in folio in 1652, was welcomed with the most enthusiastic adulation. Bright, full of movement and variety, and exhibiting a thorough knowledge of stagecraft, the play was very popular, but its excellencies would appear in representation rather than in the study. Like Fletcher's comedy in general, it relies not upon human interest but upon striking situations, bright dialogue, and abundant incident.

It is, however, in the union of Romance with Comedy

that the supremacy of Fletcher is felt. Coleridge acknowledged this, and declared that he could read "The Beggar's Bush" from morning till night; pronounced "The Little French Lawyer" excellent; and "Monsieur Thomas" capital. This union may be illustrated by

"*The Spanish Curate*,"

which was first acted at the Blackfriars Theatre in 1622, and in the writing of which Massinger possibly co-operated. It also affords an instance of Spanish influence, in that the story is based on the novel "Gerardo, the unfortunate Spaniard," by Gonzala de Céspedes, the English translation of which also appeared in 1622.

The Romantic portion of the play centres round the story of a lad, Ascanio, and Don Jamie, younger brother of Don Henrique, a rich and niggardly Spanish grandee, who has for wife Violante. Don Henrique is childless, so that his brother is his heir, but a hard hand is held over him, and he is allowed but a bare annuity. The opening lines artistically place us in touch with these characters, as well as with that of a rich, generous, and popular young noble, Leandro, who soon after enters, in company with Don Jamie and Ascanio. This lad, the son of a poor Captain Octavio and his wife Jacintha, who was once called fair, is so nobly self-sacrificing in his devotion to his poor parents that he wins not only golden opinions, but solid gold itself, from the young nobles. The niggardly Don Henrique, suddenly entering, at once abuses his brother for his extravagance, while Don Jamie twits him with his avarice: is he not denying himself the very means and necessaries of life, while possessed of full coffers, lands, and vineyards, and for what?—to die and leave it to one who will rejoice in his death! Don Henrique departs vowing vengeance, and will soon be found plotting to deprive his brother of the hoped-for wealth. Don Jamie and his companions then turn to speak of a more congenial theme—handsome ladies. Mention is made of one who surpasses all; but she is meanly matched with a wrangling advocate, Bartolus, and is closely sequestered from the world by her jealous, Argus-like husband, who is exceeding rich, but covetous. Leandro's curiosity is fired—he will know more; and with him we pass from the borderland of romance into the midst of the rich comedy of Act II.

The neighbours of the lawyer are the Spanish Curate, Lopez, and his sexton, Diego, whom we find lamenting the decay of the good old times. Alas! there has been ne'er a christening these

ten weeks; people have become so hard-hearted that they will not die, so there's nothing got by burials; and then it's unfortunately against the canons to pray for pestilential air—so conscientious are we!—though a half-dozen new fantastical fevers would prove grateful indeed. Even those proverbially good friends of Death, the Doctors, who kill slow but certain, have been sadly at fault! While "hard times" are thus the theme, a young student appears; he has come from afar—from Nova Hispania—and is the bearer of a letter from his father to his old friend Signor Lopez, whom he begs to befriend his son and aid him in his studies. Somewhat oddly, this son bears the name of Leandro. Lopez, however, finds it impossible to remember this mythical college friend and room-mate; he knows nothing of him nor of his son! The young stranger, with a deep sigh, can only express regret that he has been so misdirected—for he is *quite* sure of the names, Lopez and Diego; he is the more uncomfortable as he has a sum of money to deliver — a poor scant gratuity of 500 ducats. Suddenly memory becomes abnormally active, especially when aided by hints from the kindly disposed stranger. Soon there emerges from the imaginations of Lopez and Diego a staid old gentleman, with white beard, who left some twenty years ago —well, yes, it might be five-and-twenty. Did he not marry De Castro's daughter? Did he not dwell close by? Was he not the loving companion and only friend of Lopez? The mother, too, how handsome she was! The tender Diego, not a whit behind his master, chiefly recalls the little baby. How he had dandled him! how he had swung him on the bell-ropes! and how little boys like swinging! How opportune, too, that this young stranger would study law, when neighbour Bartolus is close at hand! The avaricious Bartolus is soon won over (II. 5); 300 ducats premium and 20 ducats a month so touch him that he will even allow the meek, quiet student to occupy an outpart of the house, and in the generosity of his heart will actually let him have a little fire at times and an occasional light. Lopez departs, meditating upon the blessings of an acute memory:—"Come from what quarter of the world, I care not, I'll know 'em instantly, nay I'll be akin to them." Diego, the sexton, becomes absolutely unprofessional, and is prompted to renounce the dead: "I'll turn trade, Master, and now live by the living."

In a series of amusing scenes the situation of affairs within the home of Bartolus is sketched. The avaricious lawyer is so won over by the modest student, who always studies and never speaks, that he is soon found begging his wife to be kind to the poor creature. The silent student, however, during the lawyer's temporary absence,

develops with amazing rapidity singular powers of expressing his feelings in song to the accompaniment of a lute.

Meanwhile the friends of Leandro inform Lopez of the young noble's disguise, and induce him to give further aid in their schemes. Bartolus (IV. 5) is very suddenly summoned to draw up the will of a dying man. The sexton, Diego, has had scant opportunity of carrying out his new principles: he has suddenly been summoned to live with, as he had formerly lived by, the dead. He dies, too, most unexpectedly, a rich man. But what wonder? Had he not been close and scraping? Is it not "from a penny to a pound, sir, and from a pound to many?" The close-fisted Bartolus enters fully into such reasoning as this—the more so as Lopez assures him he is to be left sole executor. Poor Diego is brought forth in bed, looking, as Bartolus cannot fail to remark, somewhat fresh and strong, and his eyes cheerful; but that is a "mere glimmering before death: 'tis nothing else, sir," declares the ready Lopez. The will is naturally a somewhat lengthy affair; for how can one suddenly dispose of such vast wealth? Diego begins piously: 2,000 ducats for a hospital, that the children may pray for him; he continues dutifully, 2,000 more for the executor, Bartolus; a scant 500 for the Curate—but, alas! there are so many to give to. Money for the chancel, money for the bell-ropes, money for pins, brown paper, and penny pipes (signs of a wandering mind these!) Then come his sheep, his oxen, his plate, his jewels, his lands, his ships at sea, till the jest can no longer deceive even the avaricious lawyer, who has repeatedly given signs of incredulity; and as the dying man suddenly arises amid the laughter of all, Bartolus rushes off full of suspicion as to why he has thus been tricked away from home. It is as he feared —the house is indeed empty; and the poor distracted man already sees himself the hero of a ballad sung at every street corner. Suddenly the wife and the meek student reappear (IV. 7). Why such a stir? Cannot a poor wife go to church, indeed, without being thus scandalised? The whole of these scenes, like that (V. 2) in which the lawyer takes vengeance — foiled though he be eventually — are thoroughly Molièresque in their spirit of broad comedy.

Meanwhile, Don Henrique has not been idle, and with him we return to Romance. In order to deprive Don Jamie of his inheritance, he has confessed to Bartolus the secret of his life (III. 1), and will soon confess it in open court, where Bartolus shall be his advocate. The legal mind demands not so much proof as witnesses, "fearless souls that will swear suddenly and will swear anything." These he is promised, with a seemingly needful addition that they shall also swear truth. "That is no great matter," is the response; "for variety

they may swear truth: else 'tis not much looked after." For is not law as well as medicine ever open to the gird of the comic muse? Don Henrique then declares in court IV. 1 that Ascanio is his child and heir, that Jacintha, the boy's mother, was formerly his wife, and was only divorced that he might marry the nobler born Violante. Don Jamie is thus apparently cut off; but the indignant Violante has now to be reckoned with. She will be avenged on her husband for his deceit, and sends at once for Don Jamie to plot his destruction. He (V. 1) seemingly falls in with her plan, and arranges for the murder, not only of Don Henrique, but also of Ascanio and his "parents," Octavio and Jacintha. All four are beguiled, seized, and bound; but, as Violante is gloating over their expected death and torturing them with words, the magistrate whom Don Jamie had arranged should be present steps forth, and she is seized and the victims set free. The brothers are reconciled; provision is made for Don Jamie and Ascanio; right is done to Jacintha, who is proved to be the true wife of Don Henrique; and Violante is dismissed to a nunnery.

The romance and the comedy of the drama, here severed for purposes of convenience, are in the play interwoven and alternated, so as to continually indicate the relationship existing between them.

As one opens the first folio of Beaumont and Fletcher, the poet Shirley's words in his "Address to the Reader" may raise a smile:—"This book being, without flattery, the greatest monument of the scene that time and humanity have produced, must live, not only the crown and sole reputation of our own, but the stain of all other nations and languages." Yet it must be allowed that there is truth in Shirley's closing words on the companions, whose work, on the whole, must be reckoned second only to that of Shakespeare:—"Would thy melancholy have a cure? thou shalt laugh at Democritus himself, and but reading one piece of this comic variety, find thy exalted fancy in Elysium; and, when thou art sick of this cure, (for the excess of delight may too much dilate thy soul,) thou shalt meet almost in every leaf a soft purling passion or spring of sorrow, so powerfully wrought high by the tears of innocence and wronged lovers, it shall persuade thy eyes to weep into the

stream, and yet smile when they contribute to their own ruins."

Fletcher's work is also usually considered to be united with that of Shakespeare in a play the only quarto edition of which appeared in 1634 as "The Two Noble Kinsmen: Presented at the Blackfriers by the Kings Maiesties servants, with great applause: Written by the memorable Worthies of their time, Mr. John Fletcher and Mr. William Shakespeare, Gent." This drama is one of several which dealt with the story of Chaucer's "Knight's Tale."* The earliest of these was by Richard Edwardes, who produced a "Palæmon and Arcyte" before the queen at Oxford in September, 1566. This play is lost, but from the accounts which have come down to us it may be judged that it had little besides its subject in common with that printed in 1634. Henslowe's Diary mentions another "Palamon and Arsett," which was acted several times at the Newington Theatre in 1594. This also is lost, and nothing whatever is known of its contents nor of the possibility of its being in any way connected with "The Two Noble Kinsmen."

Fletcher and Shakespeare.

The mere presence of Shakespeare's name upon the title-page of a work which had been omitted from the folio editions of 1623 and 1632, and which was first printed eighteen years after his death, could present but a bare presumption of his having taken part in it, were it not that internal evidence seemed to support the claim. The play, however, shows signs of the hands of two writers, of whom Fletcher is certainly one; and critics such as Lamb, Coleridge, De Quincey, Dyce, Swinburne, and Dowden — besides the less widely known special students of the play, Professor Spalding and Mr. Littledale—have pronounced Shakespeare to be the author of the other portions. Yet here, again, the

"The Two Noble Kinsmen."

* "E. W." v. 312–5.

uncertainty of questions of style presents itself: broad as are the distinctions between the style of Shakespeare and that of Fletcher, marked as are the contrasts in portions of the play, room has yet been found for difference of opinion. Mr. Dyce even boldly declares that in one case Coleridge could not have meant what he is reported to have said, and that a scene assigned by him to Shakespeare is by Fletcher! Others, including Hazlitt and Shelley, refuse to acknowledge the presence of Shakespeare at all. Those portions of the play which are usually assigned to him present the characteristics of his latest work, and although there is no distinct evidence as to date, it may be safely assumed that the play was not produced until after his death, as it is inconceivable that there could have been anything of the nature of real collaboration in its production. Shakespeare could never knowingly have allowed any gold of his to be alloyed with the base metal which Fletcher saw fit to mingle with the nobler portions of the play as it now exists. Fine passages it must be allowed to contain, but on the whole, even in its better parts, it is lacking in unity, and is singularly wanting in Shakespeare's special feature, characterisation; while Fletcher's unworthy underplot has no real connection with the main portion of the play, and contains in the madness of the gaoler's daughter such manifest plagiarism from Ophelia as would of itself forbid any idea of the sanction implied in the word collaboration. In

"*The Two Noble Kinsmen*"

the story of Chaucer's "Knight's Tale" is closely followed with regard to its chief incidents, yet the whole is handled with the greatest freedom in detail. In both, Theseus quits Athens at the instigation of the wives of the unburied kings who have been slain in attacking Thebes; defeats the wicked Creon; finds among the dead the wounded Theban princes, Palamon and Arcite — the two noble kinsmen—and imprisons them in Athens, where they both see the lady Emily from their prison window, both become enamoured of her,

and their friendship is thus turned to rivalry. Arcite is set free, but banished from Athens; he returns, and becomes the personal servant of Emily. On a May-day he unexpectedly meets the escaped prisoner, Palamon, with whom he fights till the combatants are sundered by Theseus, who arranges for a tournament to decide the rival claims. Arcite, at the moment of victory, dies, and Palamon weds Emily.

A comparison, however, of the first 174 lines of Chaucer with the play as far as Act II. Sc. i., at once exhibits differences of detail. In the narrative the marriage of Theseus and Hyppolyta is an accomplished fact; in the play it affords an opportunity for an imposing bridal pageant, which could not be lost; while the simplicity of Chaucer's roadside scene, in which the "company of ladies" clad in black kneel before the returning Theseus to ask his help, as he leaps from his horse to raise them, is transformed into a not wholly natural but highly dramatic interruption of the wedding ceremony by the visit of three widowed queens. The comparison throughout is the more worthy of study as the opening Act is usually assigned to Shakespeare. The second scene has, however, no equivalent in Chaucer, and no existing evidence can be held sufficient to reconcile us to considering it as Shakespeare's. The abrupt change from the Court of Athens to a dialogue between Palamon and Arcite, dealing with the social condition of Thebes, introduces a scene which is as lifeless as a disquisition in a Morality play. The larger portion of this scene is wholly unnecessary; it not only lacks action itself, but it affords no reason for ultimate action, and supplies no such revelation of character as is needful for understanding the further development of the drama. Can such a scene be assigned to Shakespeare? It should also be noted that the real action of the play—the rivalry of the two kinsmen in their love for Emily—begins in Act II.; to this Act I. is simply a prologue, the chief events of which are not dramatically needful for the further development of the plot. If, then, Shakespeare wrote portions of Act I.—and the arguments in support of this are, I think, quite weighty—it can only be said that his work was fragmentary, and that the design present to his mind was either unknown to, or unfulfilled by, the one who completed the drama.

Act III. Sc. i. has also been held to contain Shakespeare's work, as well as parts of Act V., where the first scene is the only portion which even suggests his presence. The character of Emily in the latter part of this Act can in no way be attributed to the hand which had just given life and reality to even an Ariel and a Caliban, and which had firmly traced the delicate lines which define the figure of Miranda. The Emily of Act V. is only akin to the period in which "The Tempest" was written by being, like one of its characters, "standing

water"; she "knows not how to flow," whether toward one lover or the other, and while they are engaged in mortal combat for possession of her she thus wavers between the two—

> "Arcite may win me,
> And yet may Palamon wound Arcite to
> The spoiling of his figure. O, what pity
> Enough for such a chance!"

This may be a faint echo of Ophelia's lament for Hamlet: "The glass of fashion, and the mould of form, the observed of all observers! quite, quite down!" and it is possible that the weak Ophelia may have suggested this conception of the one whom Hippolyta had called her "weak sister"; but Emily is a psychological impossibility. In the closing scene of the play recourse is had to the poor expedient—not derived from Chaucer, and not then as familiar as in later days—of melodramatically saving the life of the condemned Palamon just as the headsman's axe is about to fall. Meanwhile, Pirithous stands near, and gives a dramatically unsuitable account of the manner in which the steed of Arcite had fallen upon his rider and crushed him, incidentally touching in his narrative upon such questions as the value of a black horse devoid of white hairs, and suggesting a theory as to the origin of music derived from the clattering of a horse's hoofs. Chaucer's fine description of the funeral of Arcite has no counterpart in the play, and the long years of maidenhood passed by the mourning Emilie of Plantagenet days would be quite out of place in one of the undecided character of the Stuart Emily, who, after "*looking* sadly" for a day or two is wedded to the surviving Palamon.

The prologue, probably the work of Fletcher, suggests this comparison with Chaucer, and exhibits a real love and reverence for the poet from whom the subject had been taken—

> "It has a noble breeder and a pure,
> . . . . . .
> Chaucer of all admir'd the story gives.
> There constant to eternity it lives.
> If we let fall the nobleness of this,
> And the first sound this child hear be a hiss,
> How will it shake the bones of that good man."

"The Two Noble Kinsmen" is classed among what are called the "doubtful plays" of Shakespeare, of which the

third folio edition of his works contained several. The title-page described it as "The third Impression. And unto this Impression is added Seven Playes, never before printed in folio, viz.: Pericles Prince of Tyre. The London Prodigall. The History of Thomas L^d. Cromwell. Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham. The Puritan Widow. A Yorkshire Tragedy. The Tragedy of Locrine. London. Printed for P. C. 1664." "Sir John Oldcastle" * was printed with Shakespeare's name in 1600, but as soon as Henslowe's Diary became an open book to students its real authorship was disclosed by the entry of October 16, 1599: "Received by me Thomas Downton of Philip Henslowe to pay Mr Munday, Mr Drayton, Mr Wilson, and Hathway for the First Part of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle, and in earnest of the Second Pt. for the use of the company, ten pound—I say, received 10 li." Such a discovery might well serve to cast suspicion on all the plays mentioned above; and indeed, "Pericles," † which was printed in 1609 with the poet's name in full, is the only one of the seven which has found a place in ordinary editions of Shakespeare. Three of the seven had previously appeared simply with the letters "W. S." upon the title-page. "Locrine" was printed in 1595 by Thos. Creede, as "newly set foorth, ouerseene, and corrected by W. S." It was therefore, in any case, simply an older play retouched. "The Puritan Widow" was published in 1607 as "written by W. S."; while "Cromwell" had first appeared in 1602 with no name or initials, but in 1613, after Shakespeare had retired from the stage, a new edition assigned it to "W. S." Wentworth Smith, a dramatist mentioned by Henslowe, has been suggested as a possible "W. S." The only edition of "The London Prodigall" which had appeared before the 1664 folio was printed in 1605 with Shakespeare's name in full

Other doubtful plays of Shakespeare.

* "E. W." x. 398. † "E. W." xi. 89-91.

on its title-page. Nothing is known as to the history of the production of the play, nor is it entered on the Stationers' Registers. It has no claim whatever to be considered Shakespeare's.

"The Yorkshire Tragedy."

"The Yorkshire Tragedy" was entered on the Stationers' Books of May 2, 1608, as written by William Shakespeare, and appeared the same year, with his name in full. This edition was printed by the unscrupulous printer Thomas Pavier, who had issued "Sir John Oldcastle," but who also issued the 1602 and 1608 quartos of "Henry V." The play was republished in 1619, and again bore Shakespeare's name. In both editions it is described as "Alls one: or one of foure plaies in one, called a Yorkshire Tragedy, as it was plaied by the Kings Majesties plaiers." The three companion plays thus alluded to are lost.

Domestic Tragedies.

This brief play is a specimen of what is termed Domestic Tragedy, which before the days of newspapers dealt with contemporary deeds of homicide in domestic circles. Such plays were popular, and the existence is known of a series of eighteen, extending from the year 1578 to 1624. Of these only four remain, two of them being anonymous: "Arden of Feversham," 1592; and "A Warning for Fair Women," 1599. Robert Yarington's "Two Tragedies in one" was printed in 1601, and "The Yorkshire Tragedy" in 1608. The names are all that remain of fourteen others, two of which —"Murderous Michael" and "The Cruelty of a Stepmother"—were acted at Court in 1578. Henslowe's Diary mentions nine others, and two of these were performed in 1598: "Black Bateman of the North," by Chettle, Wilson, Drayton, and Dekker; with a "Second Part" by Chettle and Wilson alone. Four others are mentioned in 1599: "The Stepmother's Tragedy," by Dekker and Chettle; "Page of Plymouth," by Dekker and Ben Jonson;

and two plays by John Day and W. Haughton: "The Tragedy of Merry" (also called "Beech's Tragedy," as Beech, a London merchant, was murdered by his servant Merry), and "Cox of Collumpton," which refers to the death of John Cox of that place. In 1602 Henslowe mentions three plays, one by Wm. Haughton, called "Cartwright," which dealt with the murder of Mr. Storr, a clergyman, by Cartwright, as is known from an existing prose tract on the subject published in 1603; an anonymous play, "Baxter's Tragedy;" and "The Bristol Tragedy," by John Day. This last has been wrongly confounded with "The Fair Maid of Bristow," a play published in 1605; but this is a comedy. Sir Henry Herbert's "Diary" mentions "A "Bristowe Merchant" in 1624; and in the same year there was licensed "A Late Murther of the Sonn upon the Mother." In both of these John Ford took part—in the first with Dekker, in the second with Webster. "The Yorkshire Gentlewoman and her son," an unpublished play entered upon the Stationers' Registers June 29, 1660, as by Geo. Chapman, long existed in manuscript, and was in the possession of Bishop Warburton. We owe its loss, like that of a number of other MSS., to his cook! It probably belonged to this class, and would be the last of the eighteen, a number which might in all probability be greatly extended should other works such as Henslowe's Diary, with its record of unpublished plays, ever be discovered. It will be seen from the names which appear in this list that some of the chief dramatists of the day did not consider it beneath them to engage in this kind of drama.

The events which are dealt with in

"The Yorkshire Tragedy"

are thus described by Stowe in his Chronicle:—"Walter Callverly of Calverly in Yorkshire Esquier murdered 2 of his young children, stabbed his wife into the bodie with full purpose to have murdered

her, and instantly went from his house to have slane his youngest child at nurse, but was prevented. For which fact, at his triall in York, hee stood mute and was judged to be prest to death, according to which judgment he was executed at the castell of Yorke, the 5th day of August." The seven hundred lines of this brief play, which is in one Act and ten scenes, delineate a brief period of demoniacal possession, in which Calverly, having returned from a lengthy absence in London, ruined by gambling, and having involved in his ruin his student brother, who was preparing for the Church at the University, after maligning and maltreating his only too patient wife, becomes awakened to his condition, and in a paroxysm of fury tries to sweep his family of "beggars" from the face of the earth. He is of a "virtuous house," of "an honoured stock of fair descent," and bears "a name which hundreds of years had made the shire famous." Devilish as he now is, he was by nature of an "easy constitution," and had been of much promise in his youth, until he had been so led astray that "thrice three thousand acres had been cast into the compass of a little round table" and lost. The scene (iv.) in which the Master of the college comes to tell him of his student brother's imprisonment for debt, and succeeds by a rather bald statement of facts in awakening him to repentance after the repeated failure of others, is not as wholly unnatural as it would at first seem. *Public* shame, which the man had feared, and which with all the energy of his gambling mania he had striven to avert, has now for the first time fallen upon the old county family—a Calverly is actually in prison! It is surely no unnatural touch to make this the medium for even suddenly arousing a sense of shame which neither wife nor neighbour could excite by an appeal to nobler motives. No lucky throw of the dice could now avert the ruin which had openly fallen: "five are made miserable besides myself, my riot is now my brother's gaoler, my wife's suffering, my three boys' penury and my own confusion." The colourless, Griselda-like wife, who in her futile attempts to help, only further aggravates her husband, is dramatically uninteresting; yet the fact that Calverly had left her for London as a loving husband, that during his prolonged absence she had been looking and longing for his return, and that she had evidently (Sc. i.) been kept in ignorance of his evil life there until his return, must be borne in mind. It is this last which is the dramatic justification of this poor first scene, as well as of some portion, at least, of the wife's submission.

The play at times shows unmistakable signs of power, as in the brief scene in which the little boy approaches his distracted father, overwhelmed as he is with the recent news of the family disgrace, and begs him to stand aside that he may whip his top; then, glancing

with childish and playful confidence into the face working with passion and despair, declares that grimaces cannot frighten him, till the father, beside himself at the thought of the poverty in store for his child, snatches up the boy and slays him: "bleed, bleed, rather than beg." A whirlwind of passion ensues, in which the younger child is torn from the arms of the nurse, who is hurled down stairs. The sleeping mother, roused by the noise, catches up her babe—to be reviled, stabbed, and then see the child slain. The man-servant who intervenes is overthrown and gored with the spurred boots, as his master rushes forth to mount his horse that he may slay the last remaining member of his family. Power is also manifested in the final scene (x.), in which the husband is once more face to face with his still living and still loving wife. Broken down by her forgiveness, he now feels "the Devil glide from him, depart at every joint," and he gazes at the dead bodies of his two children, whom he pathetically declares to be "playing in the angels' laps." But it must be allowed that there is nothing at all Shakespearian in any scene, while the diction is often decidedly un-Shakespearian, with its frequent repetitions: *e.g.* "How well was I left. . . . Very well, very well. . . . The moon's waning, waning. . . . Down goes the house of us, down, down." Doubtless all requirements in regard to Shakespeare's assumed authorship are amply satisfied by suggesting that he may have re-touched a play which was hastily composed to be acted at his own theatre—the Globe—in order to appeal to the public interest in a passing event. In view, however, of the fact that writers such as Jonson, Chapman, Webster and Ford produced "Domestic Tragedies," it may be allowable for other critics to respond that such a theme—calling, as we know, for a style of treatment different from that of ordinary tragedy—might produce, even from Shakespeare, work not comparable to that of the great tragedies of this very period; just as, in a special instance, Fletcher produced "The Faithful Shepherdess" and Beaumont his "Masque." The absence of broader and more imaginative treatment might be accounted for both by reason of the brevity of the play—a mere sketch—and by the apology offered in the case of "Arden of Feversham," that it was—

> "Naked tragedy
> Wherein no filèd points are foisted in
> To make it gracious to the ear or eye:
> For simple truth is gracious enough,
> And needs no other points of glozing stuff."

Suggestion has been made that this latter play, if it

cannot be considered to be wholly by Shakespeare, may at least contain portions of his work. It appeared, as has been said, in 1592, and was described as "The lamentable and trve Tragedie of M. Arden of Feversham, in Kent, Who was most wickedlye murdered, by the meanes of his disloyall and wanton wyfe, who for the loue she bare to one Mosbie, hyred two desperat ruffins, Blackwill and Shagbagg, to kill him. Wherein is shewed the great malice and discimulation of a wicked woman, the vnsatiable desire of filthie lust, and the shamefull end of all murderers." Other quarto editions appeared in 1599 and 1633; but not till 1770, when Shakespeare had been in his grave a century and a half, was his name associated with the play. Edward Jacob, a native of Faversham, who produced a history of his native town, then republished the play, doubtless incited to do so by the publication in 1762 of Dr. Hoadly's completion of an adaptation by George Lillo, who had died in 1739. In his preface he stated that he submitted it to the "professed admirers of the unparalleled Shakspear" as his earliest work; for no published play of the poet bears a date earlier than 1597. Jacob's edition was wholly uncritical, although he endeavoured to support his position by a meagre list of fourteen supposed parallel passages, consisting of commonplace allusions to mermaids, basilisks, ravens and doves, and Endymion. The hope expressed by him, if "his proposition be not admitted, that its real author could be pointed out by more convincing arguments," has, however, not yet been realised, and the secret of the authorship is still undiscovered.

"Arden of Feversham."

Arden—or Ardern, as the name is more properly spelt—had been a man of some note in Faversham, where he had filled the position of Chief Comptroller of the Royal Customs, and in 1548 that of Mayor. His wife, Alice, was half-sister of Sir Thos. North, the famous translator of "Plutarch," and the arms of that well-known family long

remained upon the windows of the room in the still existing house where, on "the 15 Day of February, being Sonday, one Thomas Ardern, Gent., was heinously murdered in his own Parlour about seven o'clock in the Night by one Thomas Mosby, a Taylor of London." This event was of such note that Holinshed "thought good to sette it foorth somewhat at large," although, as he remarked, "it may seeme to bee but a private matter," and he devoted several pages of his Chronicle to a crime which led to two women —the wife and an accomplice—being burned alive, and to five men being hanged.

Arden in the play is depicted as a weak, fond husband, who, in spite of the plainest indications of his wife's affection for Mosbie, nevertheless encourages his visits, and actually invites him to reside in his house during a temporary absence in London. Fruitless attempts are again and again made by those in the pay of the wife and Mosbie to compass Arden's death, both during his absence and on his return, until he is at last slain, his wife encouraging and taking part in the deed. The play is the best of the "Domestic Tragedies," but presents some obvious dramatic flaws. The whole treatment is essentially that of a chronicle, and not of a drama; there is sequence, but no evolution. The motive for the wife's desire to be rid of her husband, ample as it might be in real life, is nevertheless dramatically insufficient and unsuitable. True art indeed "holds the mirror up to nature," but as it can give at best but a partial presentment, the essential alone must be retained, and should be so presented as to satisfy us of its sufficiency. Weakness and avarice, especially as here developed, are no dramatic justification for murder. Holinshed also supplies a motive for the husband's conduct toward his wife, which the writer neglects, capable though it evidently is of powerful dramatic development. Arden's avarice is only incidentally introduced in the drama; in the

Chronicle it is a mainspring of action: "Arden perceyved right wel their mutuall familiaritie to be much greater than theyr honestie, yet bycause he would not offende hir, and so lose the benefite which he hoped to gaine at some of hir friendes handes in bearing with her lewdnesse, which he might have lost if he should have fallen out with hir, he was contented to winke at hir filthie disorder." While these points indicate dramatic immaturity, the self-restrained style points rather to maturity in the writer. Also some scenes manifest considerable power, as in the quarrel between Arden and Mosbie; the night scene in which the conscience-stricken servant, Michael, after failing to admit to the house his accomplices in the contemplated murder, nearly discloses his guilt; and that in which Mosbie wins over Arden's wife when she has become penitent. Such scenes have led to the suggestion that the Shakespeare of twenty-eight—his age when the play appeared—at least re-touched the play. But such suggestion is mere surmise. More valuable than disputed questions of authorship are the vivid little glimpses of the life of the day in town and country which the play affords.

Three other plays—"Mucedorus," "Faire Em, the Miller's Daughter of Manchester," and "The Merry Devil of Edmonton"—have been remotely ascribed to Shakespeare for the slight reason that a bound volume belonging to Charles II. which contained these three was lettered "Shakespeare, Vol. I." This volume passed into the hands of David Garrick, and with his valuable collection of plays became the property of the British Museum. It has now been divided, and the plays bound separately. "Faire Em" was ascribed by Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew, in his "Theatrum Poetarum," 1675, to Greene.

"The Merry Devil of Edmonton."

The three early quartos are all anonymous, and the author is unknown. Of "The Merry Devil" there were six anonymous quartos between 1608 and 1655, and an illustration of the quicksands of conjectural

criticism may be found in the fact that it has been ascribed to T(homas) H(eywood) on the supposed evidence of an entry in the Stationers' Registers of April 5, 1608, where a book called the "Lyfe and Death of the Merry Devil of Edmonton . . . *by T. B.*" is mentioned. This has been considered an obvious mistake for "T. H.," for lack of a dramatist with the proper initials; it has also been assigned to a real dramatist, Anthony Brewer, under the form of T(ony) B(rewer). The entry is perfectly correct, and does not refer to a play at all, but to a brief prose tract, which is signed with the name of the author, "Tho. Brewer," a miscellaneous writer of the time! A copy of the 1631 edition of this pamphlet is in the British Museum, and it was reprinted in 1819. The Huth Library contains an unique copy of the 1657 edition, the title-page of which bears the name "T. Brewer, Gent."

"Mucedorus" was a popular play, of which there were twelve editions in the seventy years from 1598 to 1668. The fourth edition of 1610 was "amplified with new additions," evidently by another hand, as may be partly judged by the peculiarity of alliteration which marks the earlier portion being absent from this later work. Some would assign these additions, especially Act IV. Sc. i., to Shakespeare; but the work has no claim to be his beyond that afforded by a bookbinder's lettering. It was deservedly a popular play on account of the "merie conceites of Mouse," a character whose acts are akin to those of a pantomime clown, and whose verbal errors might make him, if he could now speak for himself, claim as his descendants the Slipslops, Malaprops, and Gamps of later days. "Mucedorus."

Francis Kirkman—an enterprising bookseller who tells us that he took pleasure to converse with those who were acquainted with the old dramatists, and whose zeal in collecting romances and plays led him to desire to republish

some of them—issued in 1662 a play called "The Birth of Merlin," which he ascribed to William Shakespeare and William Rowley. He, however, stated nothing concerning the evidence which led him to place these names upon the title-page, nor of the edition from which he published it. The play was omitted from the folio edition issued two years later, and neither internal nor external evidence gives it the slightest claim to contain Shakespeare's work.

"The Birth of Merlin."

The list of the doubtful plays terminates with "The Raigne of King Edward the third, as it hath bin sundrie times plaied about the Citie of London. Printed for Cuthbert Burby, 1596." This date is one year before that of the earliest quarto of any known play by Shakespeare, although it is conjectured that the three parts of "Henry VI.," as well as "Richard III.," "Richard II.," and King John," had been written by 1595. The second edition appeared in 1599, with the same title, but with no further indication either as to the author or as to where the play had been acted. In 1656, sixty years after its first publication, it was ascribed to Shakespeare in an unreliable "Catalogue" printed at the end of a tragi-comedy by T. Goffe; but no attempt was really made to connect the poet's name with the play until 1760, when Edward Capell republished it in his "Prolusions, or Select pieces of ancient Poetry." Capell reprinted the work as "a curiosity of which the greater part of the world has no knowledge," and frankly owned that "it cannot be said with candour that there is any external evidence at all" of Shakespeare's authorship. He felt, however, that "something of proof" did arise from resemblance of style, and argued that there was no other known writer of that period equal to such a play.

"Edward III."

"Edward III."

opens at the Court of the king, where the assembled nobles listen to the declaration of that "hundred years' war" which, after being made

famous by the victories of the Black Prince and Henry V., was to end in the defeat of England and the loss of her vast possessions in France. But though the "fleeting bark" be already under sail, and though it is recognised that "in great affairs 'tis *naught* to use delay," yet the struggle which is with seeming decision thus entered upon in the opening scene is at once put on one side. Not till Act III. is the French war resumed, when the battle of Crécy (1346) is the theme. Act IV. deals with the events at Poictiers (1356); while, with a total disregard of chronology, the brief Act V.—which consists of only one scene of 250 lines—is concerned with the fall of Calais in 1347. The ostensible reason for such a long break in the action of the play is to be sought in the fact that—

> "There's a saying very old and true:—
> 'If that you will France win,
> Then with Scotland first begin.'"
> —*Henry V.* I. i., 166.

For Edward immediately finds that his "giddy neighbour" the Scot has come "pouring like the tide into a breach," and that David of Scotland has already crossed the Border and has besieged "the Castle of Roxborough, wherein enclosed the Countess Salisbury is like to perish." And we abruptly quit the historical event with which the play opens for the world of Italian fiction when the dramatist transports the English king to Roxborough, where, after the Scots have been put to flight, he becomes the guest of the liberated countess. Two-fifths of the whole play—a thousand lines out of twenty-five hundred—are devoted to this episode, during which the main action, the French war, is wholly lost sight of, while the king becomes enamoured of the Countess and dallies in Scotland. An episode, it is true—even a lengthy one, as in the case of Fielding's great work—may at times be brought into artistic relation with the principal theme. But here it is not so, for the events thus described have no connection whatever with future action; they might be wholly omitted and the play at once reduced to four Acts, of which the first and the last would then each have but a single scene. The Countess of Salisbury, the finest character in the play, never reappears after Act II.; her very name is never again mentioned. The same is true of Edward's secretary, Ludowick, who figures prominently in Act II. Sc. ii., although it would have been both easy and natural to introduce him as an attendant upon the king in the French, as he had been in the Scotch, war. The events of this lengthy episode, indeed, are only twice glanced at in the later portions of the play; once where the French monarch, before his

defeat, scornfully remarks that Edward "t'other day was almost dead for love" (III. iii. 156), and again where the English king, after the victory, declares in reply—

> "Now, John of France, I hope
> Thou know'st King Edward for no wantonness,
> No love-sick cockney." (III. v. 101-3.)

These allusions, however, cannot be overlooked, and seem to point to the fact that although this detachable episode could not have formed part of the play as originally conceived, it was introduced in order to replace other matter during one of those constant revisions to which we know our old plays to have been subjected. Holinshed is the source of the historical portions; a novel in Painter's "Palace of Pleasure" supplied the raw material for the episode. Holinshed, however, in describing the traditional origin of the Order of the Garter, alludes to the king's temporary passion for the Countess; and it is possible that the discovery of a story which dealt in detail with this subject might lead to a development of the chronicler's hint, and to an insertion in an existing play.

The dramatic close of the first scene is distinctly at line 120—

> "Now, lords, our fleeting bark is under sail:
> Our gage is thrown: and war is soon begun,
> But not so quickly brought unto an end."

The rest of the scene—forty-eight lines—forms an inartistic bridge over which we pass from the war thus entered upon to the mythical experience at Roxborough. These lines were presumably added when the "episode" was introduced.

The play, as a whole, has certainly no claim whatever to be considered Shakespeare's; it has no unity; it is not one play, but two. It has therefore been suggested that the episode alone is by him: largely from a desire to include among his creations the noble Countess of Salisbury, of whom it has been said that the gallery of even Shakespeare's female characters would not seem complete without this "true representative of high breeding united to moral purity." An endeavour has been made to strengthen this position by attempting to show that Shakespeare did not

write the other portions of the play, on the ground that they contain a number of words not used by him in his known works. Such a mode of argument, however, is two-edged; for if the investigation had been carried a little further, it would have been found to be equally applicable to the episode itself! Shakespeare, like other dramatists, made use of Painter, as he did of Holinshed; but never in a known work did he go to Italian fiction for English history. His historical plays, both Roman and English, are, with all their imaginative treatment, remarkable rather for close adherence to Plutarch and the English Chronicler. External evidence is wholly hostile. The play, though published in 1596, was not mentioned two years later by Meres, although he included "Titus Andronicus" in his list; it was twice printed in quarto without name, and was not included in any folio edition of the poet's works. It is, therefore, as true now as it was in 1760 when Capell wrote the words, that "after all it must be confessed that its being his work is conjecture only and matter of opinion, and the reader must form one of his own, guided by what is now before him."

CHAPTER XIV.

DEKKER, CHAPMAN, AND OTHERS; SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS.

THOUGH a cloud hangs over the birth and death of Thomas Dekker,* and though the details of his personal career be obscured, yet through his pamphlets and plays he has supplied us with some of the most vivid existing pictures of the days in which he lived. We wander among the narrow streets of old London, beneath the gabled houses with their creaking signs; look in at the booth-like shops, and listen by day to the 'prentice call of "What d'ye lack?" or watch the mercers roll up their silks and velvets at nightfall and the goldsmiths put away their plate; we stroll beneath the Gothic arches of old St. Paul's, and see the gallants flaunt their cloaks; we float along the river, or pass beyond the city walls, in the days when the Moor-gate really led to moors, and when Fins-bury had its swampy fens; we visit the ordinaries, the taverns, the theatre; we behold the plague-stricken city, and watch the deadcart pass, and see the bodies "tumbled into their euerlasting lodgings (ten in one heape and twenty in another) as if all the roomes vpon earth had bin full;" we become familiar with the haunts of sin and vice, and may find ourselves with Dekker himself within the walls of one of those "thirteene strong houses of sorrow where the prisoner hath his heart wasting away." Dekker's homely pictures of this bygone life have all the realism of Dutch paintings; deficient

Thomas Dekker.

* "E. W." x. 402.

as they are in composition and execution, we trace behind them a kindly human heart, like that of Steele or Goldsmith, which draws us to the writer despite evident faults of style and flaws of character.

Dekker produced fifteen pamphlets in prose, as well as four chiefly in verse. Of these seventeen remain. The first was issued in 1603 as "The Wonderfull yeare." At the end ("like a mery Epilogue to a dull Play) certaine Tales are cut out in sundry fashions of purpose to shorten the liues of long winters nights that lye watching in the darke for vs." This early "Annus Mirabilis" first deals with the death and sickness of Elizabeth and the ascension of James, but quickly passes to the story of the deadly plague which had destroyed 30,000 people; and the "certain tales" or anecdotes which Dekker relates, gruesome as they are, already reveal the sense of humour with which his work abounds. In 1625 Dekker dealt with another visitation of the plague, in a hastily written pamphlet penned when the people were fleeing from the city, and called "A Rod for Run-awayes." In 1603 there also appeared "The Batchelars Banquet," the fifteen chapters of which were devoted to "pleasantly discoursing the variable humours of women, their quickness of wits, and unsearchable deceits." Each chapter deals in the spirit of true comedy with one humour, and the vivid little pictures manifest a shrewd but kindly satire. Chapter VI., on "The humour of a Woman that strives to master her husband," is a laughable sketch of an amiable man who, having invited his friends to dinner, finds on his return home that the servants are sent out, the cupboards are locked, while the wife, mysteriously ill in her room, has with sudden humility realised her unworthiness to descend and welcome her husband's guests: "They are too great states for my companie, and no doubt they would scorne a poore woman as I am!"

"The Wonderfull yeare."

"The Batchelars Banquet."

"The Seven Deadly Sins."

"The Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London: drawn in seuen seuerall Coaches, Through the seuen seuerall Gates of the Citie: Bringing the Plague with them," was published in October, 1606, and reveals the earnest as well as realistic side of Dekker's nature, together with that fondness for allegory which he, in common with other writers of the day, manifests.

"*The Seven Deadly Sins*"

are not the traditional middle-age vices which Spenser had enumerated in his description of the House of Pride. In Dekker's hand the "names of the Actors in this old Enterlude of Iniquitie" are transformed into Politike (*i.e.* fraudulent) Bankeruptisme; Lying; Candlelight (*i.e.* sins of darkness); Sloth; Apishnesse (*i.e.* Fashion), who is aptly made to be the child of a French tailor and an English Court seamstress; Shauing (*i.e.* cheating); and Crueltie. Dekker grimly adds that "Seuen may easily play this, but not without a Diuell." The whole is an allegorical description of the reception during seven consecutive days of these seven vices by the people of London, and of the triumphs which were celebrated: as "it is a custome in all Countries, when great personages are to be entertained, to haue great preparation made for them." Each vice has its chariot, its pages, its attendants, and appropriate followers. Lying—true to his deceitful nature—steals in among the carts and market-women at Moorgate; he remains unknown for a time, till it is noised abroad that Monsieur Mendax is come and has brought various useful accomplishments with him, and then men, women, and children fall in love with him at once.

Candlelight enters at Sundown by Aldersgate, where there are few lights in misty evenings; and "no sooner was he aduaunced vp into the moste famous Streetes, but a number of shops for ioy beganne to shut in, . . . and all the Citty lookt like a priuate Play-house, when the windowes are clapt downe." Soon the Bankrupt, the felon, and all that owe money or fear arrest, creep forth like snails from their shells and proudly stalk up and down the streets. The damask-coated citizen who had sat in his shop, and from morn till night had sourly looked on his poorer neighbours, now slips away to the tavern. The 'prentices commence their desperate sallies. The dancing, the dicing, the drinking begin. For what villainies are not abroad so long as Candlelight is stirring?

The euphuistic tendency of Dekker's prose may be seen in the

opening lines of the Triumph of Sloth: "Man (doubtlesse) was not created to bee an idle fellow, for then he should be Gods *Vagabond:* he was made for other purpose than to be euer eating as swine: euer sleeping as *Dormise:* euer dumb as fishes in the Sea, or euer prating to no purpose, as birdes of the ayre: he was not set in this *Vniuersall Orchard* to stand still as a *Tree*, and so to bee cut downe, but to be cut downe if he should stand still." The earnestness of the writer may be seen in his definition of sloth: "No, no, hee is not slothfull, that is onelye lazie, that onelye waistes his good houres, and his Siluer in Luxury, and licentious ease, or that onely (like a standing water) does nothing, but gather corruption: no, *hee is the true Slothfull man that does no good.*" It is in keeping with passages such as this that the little volume which exhibits Dekker's style at its purest is a book of prayers. This, which survives in only one imperfect copy, was printed in 1609 under the title of "Noahs Arke," and its four divisions were euphuistically termed—"The Dove," containing prayers for lowly folk, even for the man in prison; "The Eagle," which soared higher, in prayer for Royalty and for all in authority; "The Pelican," a symbol of Christ, supplied supplications for help to overcome the lusts of the flesh; while "The Phœnix" spread its wings in thanksgiving.

There may possibly be a personal reminiscence in the sixth day's triumph — that of Shaving — in the description of the cruel landlord who builds up a chimney which costs thirty shillings, and whitens the walls of a tenement which are scarce worth the daubing, and then promptly raises the rent, "assessing it at 3 li. a yeer more then euer it went for before." *Tempora mutantur sed non semper mutamur in illis.*

"Crueltie" contains the description, already alluded to, of the thirteen strong houses, built of freestone, but none are free within them! "O what a deale of wretchedness can make shift to lye in a little roome!" Dekker exclaims. And he spoke from experience; for the third entry in Henslowe's Diary with regard to him is this: "Lent unto the companey, the 4 of febreary 1598, to disecharge Mr. Dicker owt of the cownter in the powltrey, the some of fortie shillinges." In prison in 1598; in debt in 1602; in prison in 1613, and again in 1616 when he wrote to Alleyne a letter which has been preserved, Dekker uttered his heart when he spoke of the debtors' gaol. Even in a work with the seemingly joyous title of "Jests to make you merie!" (produced with George Wilkins in 1607) Dekker introduced six brief pages on the "Miserie of a prison and a prisoner:" "Oh sacred libertie . . . For what else is a Prison but the very next doore to hel? It is a man's graue, wherein he walkes aliue, it is a Sea wherein he is alwaies

shipwrackt, it is a lodging built out of the world, it is a wildernes where all that wander up and downe grow wilde, and all that come into are deuoured."

Pathos, sympathy, and satire are mingled in his appeal when he vividly sketches the state of the poor forsaken wretches who die upon the common highways, while Levite and Pharisee pass by on the other side: "Thou setst vp posts to whip them when they are aliue; Set vp an Hospitall to comfort them being sick, or purchase ground for them to dwell in when they be well, *and that is when they be dead!*"

This is but one of several pamphlets which deal with the social condition of the day. Another, "The Belman of London: Bringing to Light the most notorious Villanies that are now Practised in the Kingdome," was printed in 1608, and was followed at once by "Lanthorne and Candle-light: or, the Bell-Mans second Nights-walke. In which He brings to light, a Brood of more strange Villanies than euer were till this yeare discouered." The former of these was founded upon Thos. Harman's "Caueat, or Warening for Commen Cursetors,"* published forty-two years before. Dekker's work went through several editions, and in a reissue of 1637, modified in form and with a new name, he introduced the words which give us our only partial clue to the date of his birth.†

"The Belman of London."

In "Worke for Armorours: or the Peace is Broken. Open warres likely to happin this yeare 1609," Dekker endeavoured by a striking heading to draw attention to a subject which is indicated in the completion of the title—"*God helpe the Poore, The rich can shift.*" The wars described are those between the hosts of Princess Poverty and a renowned Empress called Money! A similar attempt was made in his "Strange Horse-Race," 1613, in which he describes such contests as that between the swift Prodigality and the steady Hans Thrift: while a parson races after

* "E. W." x. 96 7. † "E. W." x. 394.

four benefices—and gets them; and a lawyer is strangely pitted against his own conscience!

In this same prolific year 1609, besides "Noahs Arke" and "The Rauens Almanacke," there was issued Dekker's best-known pamphlet, "The Gvls Horne-booke." A horn-book was a single sheet, protected by a piece of transparent horn, and was used for teaching children their alphabet, and Dekker's work was dedicated to all gulls—*i.e.* dupes or fools—in general; for as he knew that most of them were so ignorant that they could neither read nor write, he says, "A Horne-booke haue I inuented, because I would haue you well schooled." This interesting work describes the life of a gallant in the early Stuart days. It is in eight chapters, and the latter portion alone is original; for, as the writer declares, it hath a relish of Grobianism, especially at the beginning. "Grobianus and Grobiana," a Latin work by Friedrich Dedekind, a German, was first published complete in 1584, although parts had appeared as early as 1549; while in 1605 it had been translated into English verse by "R. F. Gent" under the name of "The Schoole of Slovenrie, or Cato turned wrong side outward." Dekker states that he himself had begun a translation, but not greatly liking it he had altered the shape, and out "of a Dutchman fashioned a meere Englishman." The last four or five chapters are the really original portion, and take us among the gallants in "Powles Walkes"—the fashionable promenade of the day being the cathedral nave; thence to dinner at an "ordinary," or eating-house, where we listen to the loud pretentious talk, and watch the poet enter with Epigram, Satire, or Sonnet ready. A chapter on the Playhouse follows; and we note the young gallant who arrives late noisily taking his place, three-footed stool in hand, upon the stage itself, that he may the better be seen and the better able to interrupt the play and rail at the author; and "it shall crowne you

"The Gull's Horn-book."

with rich commendation to laugh alowd in the middest of the most serious and saddest scene of the terriblest Tragedy: and to let that clapper (your tongue) be tosted so high, that all the house may ring of it." Chapters on the "Tavern," the "Night, and how to passe by any Watch" follow. As a picture of some phases of London life nearly four hundred years ago this little work stands alone.

Dekker's Verse-Pamphlets.

In his verse, as in his prose, Dekker dealt with the life of his day. In "Canaans Calamitie,"* his first verse-pamphlet, he sought, but less obviously, to teach the same lesson as Lodge and Greene had enforced in their "Looking Glass for London and England.† "The Double P.P., a Papist in Armes . . . encountered By the Protestant. At Ten seuerall Weapons," was issued the year after the Gunpowder Plot of 1605; while the title of Dekker's most remarkable verse-pamphlet speaks for itself: "Dekker his Dreame. In which, beeing rapt with a Poeticall Enthusiasme, the great Volumes of Heauen and Hell to Him were opened, in which he read many Wonderfull Things." This was printed in 1620; but as early as 1606 Dekker had published information concerning one of these regions in a prose tract called "Newes from Hell; Brought by the Diuells Carrier." This was reissued in 1607 as "A Knights Conjuring done in Earnest, discovered in Jest."

Dekker's Plays.

There are fourteen existing plays in which Dekker took part, besides the three already mentioned.‡ The greatest of these was printed in 1604, as the work of Dekker alone; but the Diary of Henslowe mentions under the same date a play called "The paysent man and the onest hore," written by Dekker and

* "E. W." x. 394. † "E. W." x. 70-7.
‡ "E W." x 401-2.

Middleton, and there is no doubt of Middleton's co-operation. Mr. Dyce, without evidence, assumed that in the second part of "The Honest Whore," which was registered in April, 1608, but not printed till 1630, Middleton also took part; there is no evidence whatever of this. These two uneven plays show Dekker at his best, and the second part contains the only remarkable characters—particularly the delightful Orlando Friscobaldo—which he created. We are thus helped to understand the strange collocation of names mentioned by John Webster, who speaks of the "right happy and copious industry of Master Shakespeare, Master Dekker, and Master Heywood." Industrious Dekker certainly was, but neither in his life nor in his muse could he be called wholly happy, and the next two plays indicate the low-water mark of his dramatic career. That of 1607, "The Whore of Babylon," was, like the verse-pamphlet of the preceding year,—"The Double P.P.,"—an anti-Catholic demonstration, and feebly attempted to deal with glories of Protestantism in the events of the Armada. It was followed by another poor play, "If it be not good, the Divel is in it," which was printed in 1612. No other play by Dekker alone was published till 1631, when a tragi-comedy called "Match mee in London" was printed; the scene is laid at Seville, but it is the life of London which is really dealt with. "The wonder of a Kingdome" was printed in 1636. Dekker also produced in 1612, 1628, and 1629 three Lord Mayors' pageants besides the one which he wrote with Ben Jonson in 1604.* "Patient Grissill," written with Chettle and Haughton, was printed in 1603, as if to atone by the picture of a patient wife for the playful satire of his "Batchelars Banquet." In three plays he worked with John Webster; in two others, with John Ford; while Middleton, besides helping in the play mentioned above, wrote also in "The Roaring Girl." In "The

* "E. W." xi. 237.

Virgin Martyr," printed in 1622, Dekker* was strangely yoked with Philip Massinger.

Nicholas Breton.

Nicholas Breton,† whose literary life extends over the half-century from 1575 to 1626, was, like Dekker and Thomas Churchyard, one of the most prolific writers of the day. Breton's numerous writings, both in prose and verse, are scarce; they were sometimes unsigned, or signed only "N. B.," and his versatility has led to many works being attributed to him, sometimes quite without evidence. He poured forth moral and religious poetry, satires, and pastorals, a romance ("Mauillia"), and character sketches (the "Good and the Bad," 1616), somewhat after the manner of those of Sir Thomas Overbury, but more genial in tone. His verse often has the ring of a true poet, as in the little cradle song, of which these are the closing lines:—

> "Come little boy and rock a-sleep,
> Sing lullaby and be thou still;
> I that can do naught else but weep
> Will sit by thee and wail my fill.
> God bless my babe and Lullaby."

George Chapman's Comedies.

"Eastward ho!" 1605, one of the brightest, pleasantest, and best-planned of the comedies of this period, is, like the work of Dekker, full of the movement of old London life. In it, as we have seen,‡ Ben Jonson wrote with Marston and George Chapman. Twenty-seven years later, in 1632, a comedy by Chapman and James Shirley was licensed, and in 1639 it was first printed as "The Ball." These are the only two comedies in which Chapman wrote with others; but between 1598 and 1612

* In the Bibliography, under *Dekker*, a complete classified list of this writer's works will be found.

† "E. W." x. 492-3. A full list of Breton's works will be found in the Bibliography, pp. 349-53.

‡ "E. W." xi. 221-2.

he produced seven by himself. Two of these—"The Blind Beggar of Alexandria," 1598, and "An humourous day's mirth," 1599—have already been considered.* Nowhere does Chapman attain to the level of "Eastward ho!" but in "All fools," printed in the same year, he produced a bright Terentian comedy exhibiting a lightness of touch, an appreciation of dramatic situation, and a power of skilfully managing an involved plot, which at once places it at the head of his comedies. The name "All fools" has reference to the fact that by a series of amusing scenes all the characters are brought into such positions as we associate with the First of April. His four other comedies are "The Gentleman Usher" and "Monsieur d'Olive" (both printed in 1606), "May day" (printed in 1611), and "The Widow's Tears" (in 1612). "Monsieur d'Olive" opens admirably, and manifests considerable dramatic skill, but it lacks that sense of proportion which is seen in Chapman's best play, for the under-plot, the hero of which gives his name to the comedy, is unduly developed.

Chapman's Tragedies.

Chapman also produced seven tragedies, two of which were not printed till 1654, twenty years after his death. In one other, "The Tragedy of Philip Chabot, Admiral of France," he worked with Shirley; this play was licensed in 1635, soon after Chapman died, and was printed in 1639. It is one of five dealing with recent or contemporary French history, which, for reasons unknown to us, seems to have had a peculiar interest for Chapman. The death of the noble-minded Chabot, with which this play closes, took place in 1542, five years before the end of the reign of Francis I., who is made to utter the concluding words of the tragedy. The two plays called "The Conspiracy" and "The Tragedy" of Charles Duke of Byron, which were printed in 1608 and 1625 respectively, really form one slow-moving epic drama in ten

* "E. W." x. 471.

Acts, and relate to the career of the French noble who had been executed as recently as 1602, when Chapman was forty-three years of age. Two other plays, which bear the name of "Bussy d'Ambois," deal in their final scenes with events which happened in 1579 and 1588. There is, however, in these five plays little or no sense of historical atmosphere. Chapman did not attempt this; he even disclaimed it when he said "for the authentical truth of either person or action, who (worth the respecting) will expect it in a poem, whose subject is not truth, but things like truth?" A stronger dramatist, however, would, besides occasional historical allusions, have made evident some difference between the gay Renaissance Court of Francis I. and that of Henri IV., with which the two plays of Byron are associated; while we seek in vain in the plays on Bussy d'Ambois for any hint of the true character of the profligate monarch, who delighted to be surrounded with base favourites and to appear in public in the magnificent robes of a woman, bejewelled and bedizened like an Eastern despot. Yet Chapman was a lad of fifteen when, two years after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, Henri III. ascended the throne, he was twenty-one when d'Ambois was murdered, and thirty when the king fell beneath the dagger of Jacques Clément. "Monsieur" the king's brother, who figures so largely in "Bussy d'Ambois," and whose death is related in the sequel, called "The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois," was well known and well hated by the English people. In the very year of the death of d'Ambois he had visited England as the youthful suitor of Elizabeth, who was a quarter of a century his senior, and whom he terms in the play "that rarest queen in Europe," and had then called forth the remonstrance from Sidney which led to his temporary retirement from Court.* In the tragedy the character of

"Bussy d'Ambois."

* "E. W." ix. 123.

"Monsieur" the Duke of Anjou is revealed in all its iniquity.

These two plays exhibit both the excellencies and the defects of the dramatic style of Chapman.

Bussy d'Ambois

is of noble extraction but of fallen fortunes, and is introduced at the royal Court by Monsieur in order that he may aid him in the possible downfall of his royal brother:—"There's but a thread betwixt me and a crown. I would not wish it cut unless by nature: yet . . . 'tis good to get resolved spirits about me;" and Bussy is known as the most brilliant swordsman of the day. His bold and even braggart bearing, however, immediately brings upon him the hatred of the famous Duke of Guise and the scoffs of the nobles, who jeer at him as an upstart "overjoyed at the conceit of Monsieur's cast suit." A challenge is the inevitable result; and, as two friends champion the cause of Bussy, a three-fold duel ensues. The vivid account (II. i.) of the sword-play, which is continued until "of all the six, sole d'Ambois stood, untouched save only with the others' blood," is one of the most graphic portions of the play. It is related by a messenger or *Nuntius*, as he is called; and this Latin word, as well as the fact that the duels are not fought upon the stage, but are described after the manner of Greek and Roman tragedy, is one of several signs of classical influence upon the writer. Chapman was not a close or retentive student like Ben Jonson, but his plays abound in classical allusions, not pedantically introduced, but the natural outcome of his study and his mental bias. Monsieur cannot beseech Bussy to come to Court without a reference to Themistocles, Camillus, and Epaminondas; the messenger cannot begin his account of the duels without an allusion to that of Paris and Menelaus in the third Iliad. This classical influence also manifests itself in the literary style; the description of the fall of the soldier, Barrisor, when pierced by the blade of d'Ambois, is told in a lengthy simile evidently inspired by Homer—

> "Then, as in Arden I have seen an oak,
> Long shook with tempests, and his lofty top
> Bent to his root, which being at length made loose
> (Even groaning with his weight), he 'gan to nod
> This way and that: as loth his curled brows
> (Which he had oft wrapt in the sky with storms)
> Should stoop: and yet, his radical fibres burst,
> Storm-like he fell, and hid the fear-cold earth:
> So fell stout Barrisor."

D'Ambois not only receives a pardon for this bloodshed, but is welcomed into the royal favour, and henceforth becomes the king's avowed champion against the nobles and Monsieur. But the sudden love which has sprung up between him and Tamyra, the wife of Montsurry—the Count Monsoreau of history—soon becomes the means by which he is destroyed. Through the medium of a Friar, Tamyra's chaplain, a meeting is arranged between the lovers; and the invocation uttered by the expectant countess "to all the peaceful regents of the night" is a fine example of Chapman's poetic vein; just as the graphic words put into her lips immediately after the interview are an instance of an occasional, though rare, heart-searching power—

> "Before, I was secure 'gainst death and hell;
> But now am subject to the heartless fear
> Of every shadow, and of every breath,
> *And would change firmness with an aspen leaf;*
> So confident a spotless conscience is,
> So weak a guilty."

In Act I. real comedy had prevailed; Act V. is replete with tragedy of mingled power and crudity. Montsurry, having learnt from a prying servant of the secret interview of his wife with d'Ambois, strangely turns not upon him, nor upon his wife on account of her love for him; but is seen dragging Tamyra by the hair, stabbing her again and again, and finally ordering her to be placed on the rack, solely in order to extract from her the name of her accomplice, the Friar! At this very juncture the Friar, with drawn sword, appears, having ascended by a secret vault; but ere he can complete even a sentence he mysteriously falls dead! Confession now cannot injure him; it is therefore made, and Tamyra is forced to write a letter in her own blood to Bussy to beseech his presence.

Meanwhile the ghost of the dead Friar appears, and warns d'Ambois not to accede; in his uncertainty Bussy invokes the aid of a spirit who shall reveal at once the past and the future. This is done in a fine invocation which Charles Lamb could call "tremendous, even to the curdling of the blood. I know nothing in poetry like it." Bussy then learns that the Friar is dead, and the spirit repeats the warning of his ghost. But when Montsurry, disguised in the robes of the dead man, appears with Tamyra's letter, d'Ambois disbelieves both ghost and spirit, and goes to meet his fate.

Hired assassins join with Guise and Montsurry, and the brave swordsman is overpowered and stricken down. The exquisite poetical

power of the lengthy speech uttered by the dying man almost atones for its complete dramatic inconsistency. Chapman is at his best as he describes the wounded swordsman, struggling to his feet and propped upon his sword, apostrophising his fame.

"Alphonsus Emperor of Germany," which was not published until Chapman had been dead twenty years, is the only other tragic drama in which unflagging movement is maintained. It deals in the freest and most imaginary manner with German history during the reign of our Henry III., introducing Prince Edward as leaving England for no other purpose than to woo and wed Hedewick, daughter of the Duke of Saxony, and closing with the loud "Vivats" which salute the accession of Richard Earl of Cornwall to the Imperial throne! Full of movement, the drama is devoid of poetry, and, with its frequent scenes of horror and bloodshed, quite belongs to the school of "Titus Andronicus" and Kyd's "Spanish Tragedy." It must have been produced early in Chapman's dramatic career. The knowledge of German life and language which the play manifests—Prince Edward is taught German phrases, in order to prosper the better in his wooing!—has led Dr. Karl Elze, the able German editor of the play, to declare that either Chapman must have lived for a time in Germany or have had a German partner in producing the drama. There is a gap in the life of the poet from the year 1574, when he is said to have entered College, until 1594, when his first poem was published; part of this period, Dr. Elze suggests, may have been spent in Germany. Another suggestion is that either Chapman, like Ben Jonson, visited the Low Countries as a volunteer, or that he went—how it is not known—in connection with one of the various bodies of English actors who crossed to the Continent in 1585 and 1590, and at other times.* A possible

"Alphonsus."

* "E. W." x. 27-9.

Continental visit might also account for his interest in French history.

"The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois" represents another phase of Chapman's tragic drama. Noble as a poem, it is dramatically a failure. Nine years elapse before Clermont d'Ambois avenges his brother by slaying Montsurry, and this period of inaction is typical of the absence of movement in the play. Clermont is the antipodes of Bussy: slow to act, as his brother was quick; a devoted follower of the Guise whom his brother had browbeaten, and who had been one of that brother's murderers; philosophic in the extreme, he placidly accepts whatever fortune, be it good or ill, may bring him. This absence of action and predominance of philosophy also characterises the two plays on Byron, where it assumes its noblest form; while the "Tragedy of Cæsar and Pompey"—printed in 1631, and stated in the dedication to the Earl of Middlesex to have "never touched at the stage"—is, as the completion of the title implies, a moral thesis on the subject, "only a just man is a free man." Chapman distinctly speaks in the dedication of "The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois" of "material instruction, elegant and sententious excitation to virtue, and deflection from her contrary, being the soul, limbs, and limits of an authentical tragedy." The "Revenge" is full of noble reflections and sententious morality:—"Who hath no faith to man hath none to God;" "Avarice of all, is Nothing's father;" "When love kindles any knowing spirit it ends in virtue and effects divine." Few poets, indeed, show to better advantage than Chapman in selections. Even in 1600, when the body of his poetic work was small, out of the forty-two writers whose poems were quoted in "England's Parnassus," Chapman stood seventh with eighty-three quotations; this being one-third of the number from Spenser himself, whose "Faerie Queene" alone supplied thirty

"The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois."

thousand lines to select from. The real poetry of Chapman almost demands isolation; it is embedded in so much that is obscure that, like the Arthur of romance, we journey on through mountain mist and grey boulders, and may even stand among the dead men's bones, ere through the gloom of night a sudden gleam of moonlight reveals the diamond circlet at our feet.

The first of Chapman's non-dramatic poems published in James I.'s reign was an obscure allegory containing some noble lines; this appeared in 1609 with the title, "The Teares of Peace." It was followed in 1612 by "Petrarchs seven Penitentiall Psalmes paraphrastically translated," to which were added a Hymn to Christ and twenty-six brief philosophical poems containing reflections upon life. In the same year Chapman, like other poets, lamented the death of his patron Prince Henry, in an "Epicede; or Funerall Song." Two years later he celebrated the ill-starred marriage of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, with Lady Frances Howard, in verses called "Andromeda Liberata; or the Nuptials of Perseus and Andromeda;" and the poet who had printed on the title-page of his "Banquet of Sence" the words, "*Quis leget haec? Nemo Hercule Nemo, vel duo vel nemo,*" now found his poem not only read, but freely criticised. He replied at once in a "Justification of a lately publisht and most maliciously mis-interpreted Poeme." The devotion of the moral teacher Chapman to Robert Carr, strange as it is, was nevertheless sincere and long-continued. Adversity could not destroy it; for poem after poem—the "Odyssey" in 1614 and "The Hymns of Homer" in 1624—was dedicated to the earl in his enforced disappearance from Court. In 1614 Chapman wrote another poem, strange alike in conception and execution, upon the death of the distinguished soldier, Lord William Russell of Thornhaugh; this was called "Eugenia: or True Nobilities Trance." A hundred lines in 1622

were devoted to the fate of Sir Horace Vere, who during the Thirty Years' War was "besieged and distrest in Mainhem."

The great work of Chapman, however, was neither in his drama nor in his original poetry; his life-work was his translation of Homer. Ten years before his death he published, "The Crowne of all Homers Workes. Batrachomyomachia, or the Battaile of Frogs and Mise. His Hymns and Epigrams." It was the completion at sixty-five of the work begun at thirty-nine; and Chapman could proudly write at the end of his volume—*The work is done that I was born to do.* Over a quarter of a century lay between this and the first portion of the translation of the Iliad, in 1598.* This early instalment of seven Books had been followed by an edition dedicated to Prince Henry, and called, "Homer Prince of Poets, translated according to the Greeke in twelve Bookes of his Iliads;" this contained the first half of the great poem. The volume was undated, but could not have appeared before 1609, as one of the complimentary sonnets is addressed to the Earl of Salisbury as Lord Treasurer, an office to which he did not attain till May 4th of that year. All twenty-four Books were registered on April 8th, 1611, and were probably printed soon after. This translation of the Iliad was in fourteen-syllabled verse, or ballad metre. In 1614 appeared the twenty-four Books of the Odyssey, written in the ten-syllabled rhymed couplet adopted by Pope in his version of both poems a hundred years later. In the year of Shakespeare's death (1616), the first complete English version of the Greek poems appeared, when the Iliad and Odyssey were reprinted together; and a year before James I. died Chapman had "crowned" his work by issuing the "Hymns."

Chapman's "Homer."

Chapman's work is avowedly a paraphrase rather than a

* "F. W." x. 464.

translation, and it possesses the life and fire of an original poem. The fact that the last twelve Books of the Iliad were, as the poet tells us, completed in less than fifteen weeks may be taken as an indication of the absorbed interest of the translator. The poem has, as Coleridge has declared, "mighty faults counterpoised by mighty beauties;" and neither its faults nor its beauties are those of Homer. Matthew Arnold has dwelt upon the fact that while Homer is simple, direct, and clear, Chapman is essentially complex and quaint, and has asserted that "between Chapman and Homer there is interposed the mist of the fanciſulness of the Elizabethan age, entirely alien to the plain directness of Homer's thought and feeling." This is perfectly true; but it is also a truism. Chapman, who had a poetic theory as definitely conceived and as firmly maintained as that of Wordsworth, intentionally adopted a system of rendering which, even in his own day, subjected him to criticism. He maintained that it was both pedantical and absurd to translate word for word; that though a translator should certainly follow the "material things," he should seek to convey these to the mind of his readers in that style and language which he deemed best suited to his theme:—"The worth of a skilful and worthy translator is to observe the sentences, figures and forms of speech proposed in his author: his true sense and height, and to adorn them with figures and forms of oration fitted to the original, in the same tongue to which they are translated." He frankly owned that he had of set purpose chosen a "far-fetched and as it were beyond-sea manner of writing," as he considered it more gracious than a style that "hath nothing but what mixeth itself with ordinary table-talk." Such a position is perfectly consistent, and we have no right to judge strictly as a translation what has been happily termed the "paraphrase of a kindred spirit." The "unconquerable quaintness" of the poem may, like the verse of Du Bartas and the prose

of Fuller, seem as strange to us as ruffs and farthingales; but it is only one form of that "full and heightened style" which Webster praised in Chapman's tragedies; and we may fairly ask with the poet, "If I fail in something, let my full performance in other some restore me; . . . and if I be something paraphrastical and faulty, is it justice in that poor fault (if they will needs have it so) to drown all the rest of my labour?" The passion and energy of Chapman give such an individuality to what is, in one sense, an original poem, that Charles Lamb could declare that the poet "makes his readers glow, weep, tremble, and take any affection he pleases;" and Dryden, in the very days when poets were congratulating themselves on becoming free from the faults of their Elizabethan predecessors, could assure his readers that the Earl of Mulgrave and Edmund Waller, "two of the best judges of our age," could not "read over the translation of Chapman without incredible transport."

This most "eminent and reverend poet" died in 1634, a year after Laud had entered upon his duties as Archbishop of Canterbury and Wentworth had begun the reign of "Thorough;" and thus the aged poet of seventy-five, of whom Ben Jonson had said that next to himself he alone and Fletcher could make a mask, might in the very year of his death have beheld the dining-hall of Ludlow Castle brightened by the words of Milton's "Comus" and the music of Harry Lawes. Eighteen years had then elapsed since Chapman had been saluted as the "learned shepherd of fair Hitchin hill"* by a poet who was thirty-one years his junior.

William Browne.

William Browne was from Devonshire, and retained all a west-countryman's pride in his lovely native county. He sang its praises in his "Britannia's Pastorals" (Bk. II. Song iii. 601, etc.), declaring it to be a "blessed spot whose equal all the world

* "E. W." x. 464.

affordeth not," and felt certain that, even if its natural charms could be matched, yet

> "Time never can produce men to o'ertake
> The famous Grenville, Davies, Gilbert, Drake,
> Or worthy Hawkins, or of thousands more."

Among these last, the minor poet who found favour with Milton, Keats, and Mrs. Browning may claim to take a place. The last three years of Shakespeare's life cover the brief period of Browne's poetical publication; he ceased to produce verse after 1616, at the age of twenty-five. His first poem had been an elegy on the death of Prince Henry, which was issued in 1613 in a volume with another by Christopher Brooke. This same year doubtless saw the publication of the undated first Book of his "Britannia's Pastorals," which was divided into five "Songs," and contained nearly 4,000 lines written in the heroic couplet. Next year seven eclogues, entitled "The Shepheards Pipe," were printed in a volume to which Christopher Brooke, Geo. Wither, and John Davies of Hereford each contributed an additional eclogue in praise of their friend. The second Book of the Pastorals—also in five "Songs" containing 5,000 lines—appeared in 1616. Browne lived nearly thirty years longer, dying, probably, about 1645, but he published no more poetry. In 1852 a fragment of a third Book of the Pastorals was printed from a neatly written MS. which had been discovered at Salisbury by Beriah Botfield while searching the Cathedral Libraries. This was found bound up at the end of a folio edition of Books I. and II., and contained but two "Songs," one of 1,000 and the other of 300 lines, together with a few short poems, the manuscript of which had been much corrected. Browne's "Masque of the Inner Temple," acted at Whitehall Jan. 13th, 1614-15, also lay unpublished for a century and a half, until Thomas Davies printed it in the second edition of the two

Books of the Pastorals in 1772. Other poems were first printed in 1815 from a MS. in the British Museum bearing the date 1650.

Born at Tavistock, probably in 1591, William Browne was first educated at the grammar school of his native town, and passed at the beginning of James I.'s reign to Exeter College, Oxford. He left without a degree, came to London, and entered at Clifford's Inn, which he quitted for the Inner Temple in November, 1612. At the age of thirty-three he returned to Oxford as tutor to Robert Dormer, afterwards Earl of Carnarvon, and was then admitted M.A. His closing years were passed at Dorking, in Surrey, where, at the now ruined castle of Betchworth, there then lived a family of his own name, to whom he was doubtless related. His first wife had died in 1614, and after thirteen years of courtship he wedded in second marriage the daughter of Sir Thomas Eversfield of Horsham, that quiet country town to which in more recent days the name of Shelley has added a further literary association. A portion of Browne's life after leaving College had been passed at Wilton, where we have seen Sir Philip Sidney writing his "Arcadia" for the pleasure of his sister the Countess of Pembroke, and it was probably in memory of this lady that Browne wrote the well-known lines, which have often been attributed to Ben Jonson.*

* See "E. W." ix. 123, where the lines are quoted. They were never ascribed to Jonson till 1756, when Peter Whalley printed them in his edition of that poet's works. They were first printed anonymously in 1658; and again in 1660, in the "Poems of Wm. E. of Pembroke and Sir Benj. Rudyerd" (p. 66), a volume known to contain verse by neither of these writers (see *Bibliography*, under *Dyer*, No. 9). Aubrey, in quoting them, said that they were written by "Mr. Browne who wrote the Pastorals;" and the mid-seventeenth century MS. copies at Trinity College, Dublin, and among the Lansdowne MSS., are both signed "W. Browne." In these MSS. the six lines given in "E. W." ix. p. 123 are followed by six other weaker lines. Hazlitt suggested that these were by Pembroke, the son of the countess, and

The story of Celand and Marina, contained in the ten thousand lines of the "Pastorals," is a labyrinth without a clue; we never seek to trace it. But though there are portions of the poem which are tame, homely, and almost puerile, yet other portions with attractive sweetness disclose patches of real poetry in their pictures of quiet country life —the angler, the hunter, nut-picking, the May games, the bridals and feastings; while the song of the birds and the ripple of the stream are heard among the trees and flowers. Its charm is felt in detachable portions, and one such is that in Bk. II. (Song II. 281-342), in which Browne passes in review his poetic friends—Chapman, all loved Drayton, well-knowing Jonson, well-languaged Daniel, and all-worthy Broke, John Davies, and George Wither with their learned lays.

Giles Fletcher, "equally beloved of the Muses and of the Graces," born, it is said, in 1588, came of a poetic family. His father was the author of "Licia;"* his elder brother Phineas wrote "The Purple Island;" and his cousin was the dramatic associate of Beaumont. Browne did not include him in his list; for although, according to Fuller, Fletcher was born in London and educated at Westminster School, yet his brief literary life had nothing in common with that of the poets of the metropolis. Its centre and circumference was at Cambridge. Not even Thomas Gray himself can claim an association more intimate than that of the Stuart poet with the University town. As undergraduate, scholar, minor Fellow, reader in Greek grammar and language, Fletcher passed fifteen years—nearly half of his short life—among the colleges of the place of which he lovingly said it was "after heaven

Giles Fletcher.

that this had led to the insertion of all twelve among the earl's poems. (See Mr. Goodwin's edition of Browne's poems, 1894, Vol. II. p. 350, being a note on p. 294.)

* "E. W." x. 213-14.

principally to be desired." There, in 1603,* as an undergraduate he had signed "G. Fletcher Trinit." to his first published verse, a "Canto" on Elizabeth, which formed part of an academic volume printed after the queen's death. There, in 1610, his most notable poem was published, and dedicated to the Master of his own College, Dr. Nevile. There each of the two subsequent editions appeared in 1632 and 1640. There he had already developed that vein of fancy, seen also in his brother, which marks his verse; for even when preaching at the University church of St. Mary, "his prayer before the sermon usually consisted of one entire allegory, but led on most proper in all particulars." He only quitted Cambridge to hold a living in the gift of his College, and when he found his final sphere of labour it was most probably from the hand of a former Cambridge and Trinity student that he received it. He calls the author of the "Advancement of Learning" his "honourable benefactor," and it is known that the living of Alderton was formerly in possession of the Bacon family. Here, on the flat Suffolk coast, in the lonely village cure, the scholarly poet drooped and died; "his clownish and low-parted Parishioners (having nothing but their shoes high about them) valued not their Pastor according to his worth, which disposed him to melancholy and hastened his dissolution." Thus wrote quaint Thomas Fuller, deriving his information from the Rev. John Ramsay, who had married the poet's widow after his death in 1623.

"Christs Victorie, and Triumph in Heauen, and Earth, over, and after death," is practically a brief epic of 2,100 lines, in four Books, replete with allegory and dealing

* If Fletcher was born in 1588, he was only fifteen when this poem appeared. This seems unlikely. His brother Phineas entered college at eighteen; why should it not be supposed that Giles also did? He would then be born about 1585, and three years, instead of six, would separate the brothers.

with the life and death of Christ and the redemption of mankind. Its two main divisions, the second of which had in the first edition a separate title-page, are the Victory and the Triumph of Christ. But each of these is subdivided. There is the victory in Heaven, and that upon Earth; the triumph over Death—dealing with the story of the Crucifixion—and the triumph after Death, which tells of the Resurrection and the Ascension, and pictures the Heavenly Jerusalem and the joys of the blessed. The metre is original, and had already been employed by Fletcher in his first poem; it is an 8-lined stanza, rhyming *ababbccc*, of which the first seven lines have ten syllables and the last line twelve. This is a modification of the Spenserian stanza, and is but one sign of the influence of the poet whom, in the prefatory prose-letter defending the application of verse to sacred subjects, Fletcher calls "our" Mr. Edmund Spenser, and whom he classes with Du Bartas as one of "two blessed souls." Spenser's influence is most marked in

"Christ's Victory and Triumph."

"*Christ's Victory*,"

which has also a special interest, as it treats of the same theme as Milton's "Paradise Regained." The opening Book is occupied with the rival arguments of Justice and Mercy, in the allegorical descriptions of which Fletcher affords signs both of the strength and the weakness of his poetry. That of Justice is vivid and original. Mindful of the Mosaic law, Fletcher thus pictures her—

> "Vpon two stonie tables, spread before her,
> She lean'd her bosome, more than stonie hard."

She is neither blind nor blindfold; she has rather the vision of an eagle, an eye whose flash is brighter than the sun, which reveals even the hidden secrets of the heart; while her ear is so quick that it can hear the very "silence of thought loud speaking." And this is the plea of Justice:—Adam had sinned, his descendants also had transgressed; they were destitute of merit and of hope: let them die. All heaven is thrilled by the stern words; the thunder rolls and the lightning flashes; the armed hosts of heaven are roused; the spears are ready to be

launched. Then Mercy speaks. Like the cheerful sun which gladdens the earth with his uprising ray is the presence of Mercy. Shall man be slain? Cannot He that made him first, restore him? Should not rather the Tempter than the tempted die? If atonement must be made, "O first begin with me, and Mercy slay: *and thy thrice-honour'd Son that now beneath doth stray.*" The thunder dies away; the broken weapons fall, and the heavenly host bows at the feet of Mercy. Was not this in the mind of Milton when he wrote of Satan and man's fall?—

> "Man falls, deceiv'd
> By the other first: man therefore shall find grace,
> The other none: In Mercy and Justice both,
> Through Heaven and Earth, so shall my glory excel;
> But mercy, first and last, shall brightest shine."
> —*Paradise Lost* III. 130-4.

Fine as the poetry of Fletcher is in minor touches, the flaws in his conception are evident. In his love of allegory he has so prominently thrust forward the mystically described Mercy that the Christ, who is already upon Earth, is not associated with this "victory" in Heaven. It is the victory of Mercy, not that of Christ; for the poet's conception is too concrete to allow us to merge the Virtue in the person of the One who is not mentioned till the very close of the poem. More serious still is the fact that such a contest between Mercy and Justice should have preceded, and not have followed, the advent of the Christ. The work of Mercy was already begun when the Babe was born in Bethlehem. The finer instinct of Milton provided for this even before Man had fallen; even while Satan is winging his way across Chaos toward the newly created world, it is made known in Heaven—

> "I for his sake, will leave
> Thy bosom . . . and for him gladly die
> Well pleased." —*Paradise Lost* III. 238-41.

In "Christ's Victory upon Earth" the story of the Temptation is narrated The simplicity of the Gospel narrative is departed from, as it is in Milton; but here it is so overlaid with allegory that, in spite of beauty of detail, the whole effect is weakened. It is not Satan that tempts; it is Despair, Presumption, and Vain Glory, the three forms the temptation is made to assume. In the description of Despair Fletcher distinctly challenges comparison with his master Spenser ("Faerie Queene" I. ix.); yet it should be noted that while Spenser supplies a sufficient reason for the Knight of Holiness to visit the Cave of Despair, it is not so here. St. George had forsaken Truth, had laid

aside his spiritual armour, had been made a captive, and was found by Una, a disgraced spiritual knight. He *must* in the nature of things be prone to Despair. But Christ is invited by the Tempter, who is disguised, Archimago-like, as a holy hermit, to visit a lowly cottage, where he may have honey and milk and a bed of leaves, and expectation is disappointed when we see no cottage, but the graphically described abode of Despair. For this we have had no preparation, and when we hear at last, instead of the simplicity of the Scripture reply, "Man shall not live by bread alone," the strange words, "But he *upon ambrosia daily fed*, that grew in Eden," we feel that there has been no hunger, and could therefore be no temptation to despair. With this may be contrasted the beautifully subtle way in which the temptation had been first introduced. The seeming old man, with one foot in the grave, mournfully looks round upon the now desert, but once fruitful, wilderness—

> "'But oh!' he said, and therewith sigh'd full deep,
> 'The Heav'ns alas! too envious are grown,
> Because our fields Thy presence from them keep;
> For stones do grow where corn was lately sown:
> (So stooping down, he gather'd up a stone)
> But Thou with corn canst make this stone to ear,
> What needen we the angry heav'ns to fear?
> Let them envy us still, so we enjoy Thee here.'"

The student of Fletcher is continually reminded of Milton, on the one hand, as in the fall of Presumption from the pinnacle of the Temple —and of Spenser on the other. The third temptation, that on the mountain-top, is a strangely conceived combination of Spenser's "Bower of Acrasia" and his "Cave of Mammon," and the beauty of detail cannot blind us to the fact that as a whole it falls utterly beneath any true conception of what such a crisis in the life of the Son of Man could mean. The comparison is inevitable, unfair as it may seem, between the work of the poet of twenty-five and that of the far greater mind which wrote in the full maturity of genius; yet the manner in which the highest imagination may illustrate as well as adorn can hardly be better appreciated than by studying Milton's poem beside that of Fletcher. The earlier poet is luxuriant, often graphic, and abounds in minor beauties, but in the conception of his theme as a whole he lacks that form of imagination which Wordsworth defined as—

> "Another name for absolute power
> And clearest insight, amplitude of mind,
> And Reason in her most exalted mood."

This, which another great critic has happily termed "Penetrative Imagination"—the power of seeing to the heart of a subject—is too often absent. It is, however, frequently manifested in detail, as in the powerful description of the despairing Judas after the betrayal—

> "For him like a *waking bloodhound*, yelling loud,
> That in his bosom long had sleeping laid,
> *A guilty conscience* barking after blood,
> *Pursued eagerly, nay, never stayed.*"

Phineas Fletcher.

Phineas, the elder brother of John Fletcher, was born in 1582. In 1600 he entered upon a sixteen years' residence at Cambridge; and after five years as chaplain to Sir Henry Willoughby in Derbyshire he became, in 1621, rector of Hilgay in Norfolk, where he died twenty-nine years later. In his poem, "The Purple Island, or the Isle of Man," he developed to an extreme the idea of Spenser's House of Alma ("Faerie Queen" II. ix.),* and devoted twelve Books of verse to an allegorical description of the island whose foundations are bones, whose brooks are veins, and of which the spreading fence which girds it like a sea is the skin. In five cantos the whole anatomy of the human frame is thus treated of, with explanatory notes in prose. In the later portions of the poem the intellectual and moral faculties are personified, and finally the virtues, under their leader Eclecta, are attacked by the vices, but prayer brings to their aid an angel by whose help the vices are vanquished. When published, in 1633, the writer described these cantos as the "raw essays of my very unripe years, and almost childhood." Clumsy as the allegory is, the personifications are often very noble, the diction is rich and the verse melodious, and Milton received suggestions from Phineas, as he did from Giles Fletcher.

Michael Drayton,† who four years before the death of

* "E. W." ix. 348*n*. † "E. W." x. 321.

Elizabeth had addressed a congratulatory sonnet to James VI. of Scotland, hastened in 1603 to publish "A Gratulatorie Poem" to James I. of England. But neither this brief booklet nor the "Pæan Triumphall" with which he followed it next year, and in which he celebrated his "Highnesse magnificent entering the Citie," served to secure for him the royal favour which he sought. That Drayton felt this keenly was at first shown silently by his excluding these poems from the numerous collected editions of his works; but in 1627, after James had died, he openly expressed his feelings in an Elegy to his friend Master George Sandys, the translator of Ovid— Michael Drayton.

> "It was my hap before all other men
> To suffer shipwreck by my forward pen
> When King James entered, at which joyful time
> I taught his title to this isle in rhyme,
> And to my part did all the Muses win,
> With high-pitch pæans to applaud him in."

And he sadly sums up the result in the couplet—

> "He next my God on whom I built my trust
> Had left me trodden lower than the dust."

The production of these two poems had delayed that of a satire written before the queen's death; this now appeared in the same year as the Pæan, under the title of "The Owle." But the poet whom Meres, in 1598, had called "a man of vertuous disposition, honest conuersation, and wel gouerned cariage," and of the "Return from Parnassus" in 1606 said that "he wants one true note of a Poet of our times, and that is this, hee cannot swagger it well at a Tauerne," was ill-suited for satire. Drayton had not that close touch with the outside world which gives life and interest to the cruder work of a writer like Dekker. Fastidious in his self-criticism, he lived to a great extent apart among the creations of his own fancy, "The Owle."

and his allegorical poem, in which a poor owl is attacked by smaller birds until the royal eagle saves him, seems in obscure and heavy fashion to imply that now that a king gifted, as Bacon declared, "with the knowledge and illumination of a priest and the learning and universality of a philosopher" had ascended the throne, the cause of learning would be safe under the protection of this British Solomon. Only once again did Drayton attempt satire; this was in the "Moone calf," published in 1627, and again he was unsuccessful.

The opening years of James's reign were marked by great literary activity on the part of the poet. In this very year, 1604, there appeared another poem which, following the lead of George Buchanan's "Jephtha" and the "Judith" of Du Bartas, dealt with Scripture history. It was called "Moyses in a Map of his Miracles," and related in alternate rhyme the story of the birth and death of Moses, together with the miracles wrought in Egypt, at the Red Sea, and in the wilderness. In the description of the tenth plague Drayton had present to his mind the dreadful visitation of the previous year, upon which we have seen Dekker employing his pen, and of which John Davies of Hereford also wrote in the following year in his "Humours Heau'n on Earth: With the Civile Warres of Death and Fortune. As also the Triumph of Death: or, the Picture of the Plague, according to the Life; as it was in A.D. 1603."* Two other poems, not published till 1630, also treat of sacred subjects; "Noahs Floud," which contains some touches of happy quaintness, and "David and Golia." In 1607 he added his "Legend" of Cromwell to the three others mentioned below, and this formed part of the final edition of the "Mirrour for Magistrates," which appeared in 1610.

"Moyses in a Map of his Miracles."

But before this, in 1605, were printed "Poems: by

* A list of the writings of John Davies will be found in the *Bibliography*.

Michaell Draiton, Esquire," this being the first of several collected editions of his works. It included the Barons' Wars, the Heroicall Epistles, sixty-seven sonnets—a revision of his "Idea"—and the three Legends, Robert Duke of Normandy, Matilda, and Piers Gaveston. As if to supplement this, there was published, probably in the same year, although the title-page bears no date, "Poemes, Lyrick and Pastorall: Odes, Eglogs, and the Man in the Moone." This book contains some of the choicest of Drayton's poems, those which, together with his delightful "Nymphidia," his "Poly-olbion," and his "Pastoralls," give him his real place as a poet. The volume opened with twelve new odes, the last being his "Ballad of Agincourt," one of our finest martial poems. Later in life, in the dark days at the beginning of Charles I.'s reign, the poet who in early manhood had seen the triumphs of the Armada, of Drake, and of Essex, beheld England disgraced in Holland, at Cadiz, and at Rochelle, and, patriotic to the last, he wrote a lengthy poem called "The Battaile of Agincourt," and dedicated it to "the noblest Gentlemen of these Renowned Kingdomes of Great Britaine, who in these declining times, have yet in your braue bosomes the sparkes of that sprightly fire of your couragious ancestors." But the charm of the earlier ballad is gone. "The Man in the Moone," with which the volume of 1605 closed, is but a revision of the "Endymion and Phœbe" which had appeared without date, but was registered in 1594.

Poems of 1605.

But Drayton's life-work was his "Poly-olbion"; this name, derived from two Greek words signifying "rich in blessings," being doubtless adopted in the Euphuistic taste of the day from its likeness to "Albion." As early as 1598 Meres* had spoken of Drayton as penning this poem, but no portion appeared till

"Poly-olbion."

* "E. W." x. 367.

1613, when the first eighteen Books were published. The volume was dedicated to Prince Henry, and was called "A Chorographical description of all the Tracts, Rivers, Movntains, Forests and other Parts of this Renowned Isle of Great Britain, with intermixture of the most Remarkeable Stories, Antiquities, Wonders, Rarities, Pleasures, and Commodities of the same." It was learnedly annotated by John Selden, and was furnished with eighteen maps in which the love of personification which characterises the poem is also seen. The rivers spread their branches like trees, and upon these are perched the half-visible bodies of Naiads, often harp in hand; the hills are crowned with shepherds, whose flocks feed beneath; beside the forests stand the dryads; while upon the little islands huge nymphs are seen perilously balancing themselves with uplifted arms. Why the publication of the first part was delayed we know not, but Drayton himself explains the reason why the second portion did not at once appear. He wrote in 1619: "It lieth by me, for the booksellers and I are in terms. They are a company of base knaves, whom I both scorn and kick at." But in 1622 the remaining twelve songs were issued, together with a reprint of the previous eighteen; there were no notes or maps for this new portion, which was dedicated to Prince Charles.

"Poly-olbion" is a work of nearly fifteen thousand lines, written in rhyming Alexandrines. Only two Books, the twenty-second and twenty-fourth, exceed a thousand lines in length; the average of the others is 420. The taste for personification which has been noticed as marking the literature of the day is maintained throughout. As the poet describes county after county, the goddess of a river will arise and sing the beauties of the scenery through which the stream flows; the hills take up the strain, and tell of their own beauties, of legendary lore, or of the indebtedness of the plains beneath for the streams they cause to flow; the

presiding deity of a forest will tell of Robin Hood and his merry men, and instruct us in the local legends of the spot. Full of quaint and minute learning, local knowledge, and romantic touches, the poem, strange as it is, is singularly interesting. If it reaches no great height it sinks to no depth; we move, so to speak, with a kind of swinging motion along a lofty tableland where fresh, healthy breezes blow; we note the varying scenery, we watch the fish in the clear streams, and learn their names; we cull the flowers, we linger within the woods, or are present at the wedding of a Thames with an Isis.

The poems of 1627, which included "The Battaile of Agincourt," also contained twelve "elegies," from one of which quotation has already been made. One other, that "To my most dearly loved friend, Henry Reynolds Esquire," tells in pleasant verse "of Poets and Poesie"; in it we hear of Chaucer and Gower, Surrey and Wyatt, Gascoigne, Spenser, Sidney, Marlowe, Daniel, and others. In this volume was also republished the masterpiece of Drayton's smaller verse, the exquisitely dainty "Nymphidia"—a true inspiration of genius, which had first appeared in 1619. Playful, sprightly, airy, it takes us to Fairyland and makes us live where tiny gnats take the place of steeds, where a beetle's head may serve for a helmet, and an earwig for a charger; and where Mab, Queen of Fairies, and all her maids can nestle securely within a hazel-nut! Drayton wrote much—some sixty thousand lines, and in many styles. We might almost say of him, as of Goldsmith, that "he left no species of writing untouched;" and if we cannot quite truthfully add that there was nothing which he touched that he did not adorn, at least it is true that in his smaller poems he has written that which cannot die. Even in his last volume, "The Muses Elizium," published in 1630 when he was sixty-seven, the "Nymphals" reveals a vein of poetry hardly

Poems of 1627.

inferior to that of his early pastoral work. He died on December 23 of the next year.

Samuel Daniel * also began the reign of James with a poem to the king. It was called a "A Panegyrike Congratulatorie," and was presented to James before he reached London at Burleigh Harington—now Burley-on-the-hill — in Rutlandshire. In seventy-three stanzas of eight lines, the poet anticipated the happy results likely to flow from the union of the two kingdoms. Daniel, who had moved in courtly circles, met with the royal favour which Drayton had sought in vain. The new queen "delighted much in his conversation and poems;" he was appointed "to allow plays;" in 1607 he became Groom of the Privy Chamber with a salary of £60 a year; and a further mark of literary appreciation was at once given him. Before Christmas, 1603, the royal party moved to Hampton Court, where a series of festivities took place to celebrate the advent of the House of Stuart to the throne. Ambassadors from abroad, and nobles from nearer home, were gathered with their retainers, until the twelve hundred rooms of the palace were insufficient, and tents had to be erected in the royal park. To the banquets, the balls and masquerades, the tennis matches, and the running at tilt, a royal masque was to be added. And when, in the hall of Wolsey's palace, a British queen first took part in a dramatic representation, the masque she thus graced was

Samuel Daniel.

"The Vision of Twelve Goddesses."

"*The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses,*"

written by Samuel Daniel. This was acted on the evening of Sunday, January 8th, 1604. At one end of the hall, where the minstrel gallery still stands, a "mountain" was built; at the other, over the dais, was a Temple of Peace and the Cave of Somnus. The guests were arranged on either side, leaving a broad space down the centre from

* "E. W." x. 330.

end to end. "Night" having summoned her son to delight the Court with a pageant, Somnus calls up a vision, and Iris, the heavenly messenger, is seen upon the mountain at the other end of the hall; she descends, and proceeds the whole length of the apartment to the Temple of Peace, where she summons the Sibyl and announces the approaching vision. The three Graces then appear upon the mountain-top, and are followed by the twelve goddesses; as they descend, music arises from satyrs who flit among the rocks and trees; and while the goddesses, with the queen, as Juno, at their head, slowly march to the Temple of Peace to present their offerings, the Graces sing. As the goddesses return they pause in the body of the hall, and perform a courtly dance—at first alone, and then in company with nobles whom they select from the royal party. Finally Iris announces the withdrawal of the vision, and, after lingering upon earth to dance once more, the goddesses ascend to their celestial home.

This is one of four royal masques produced by Daniel, who was ultimately to be superseded in such work by Ben Jonson. The "Queenes Arcadia," called a pastoral tragi-comedy, was acted in another of Wolsey's splendid halls. On the last day of the royal visit to Oxford, this adaptation of Guarini's "Pastor Fido" was represented at Christ's Church, and was pronounced "indeed very excellent and some parts exactly acted." It was printed in 1606. "Queenes Arcadia."

"Tethys Festival, or the Queenes Wake," was an entertainment for the creation of Henry Prince of Wales, then aged seventeen, as Knight of the Bath. It was acted by the best-known ladies of the Court, on June 5th, 1610, and was printed that year together with the whole "order and solemnitie of the creation." It was considered highly successful. It should have been; for the Tritons and Naiads, the silks, and gold fringes and silver lace, together with the elaborate scenery by Inigo Jones, cost £1,636! Tethys Festival.

On February 3, 1613-14, at the queen's palace of Somerset House in the Strand, the best of Daniel's masques, "Hymens Trivmph," was acted. It was for "her Maiesties

magnificent intertainement of the Kings most excellent Maiestie, being at the Nuptials of the Lord Roxborough." An eye-witness states that "The entertainment was great, and cost the queen, they say, £3,000;" yet the annual deficit was then, historians tell us, about £100,000! It is added that "the pastorall by Samuel Daniel was solemn and dull, but perhaps better to be read than represented." That this is so may be gathered from the fact that Lamb chose his representative selection from this work, and that Coleridge, when he said, "Read Daniel, the admirable Daniel," specially mentioned the "Triumph of Hymen."

"Hymen's Triumph."

Daniel, like Drayton, frequently corrected and collected his verse. He felt, he says, that it was the only inheritance that he should leave after him, and wrote—

> "I may pull downe, raise and re-edifie,
> It is the building of my life."

The first of these editions issued after the accession of James was that of 1605: "Certaine small poems lately printed." This contained one new poem, "Vllisses and the Syren," and the tragedy of "Philotas," the latter being one of the two tragedies written by him. These are only remarkable for their close adherence to the style of Seneca, of which they are our only two exact examples. Both strictly preserve the unities of time and place, and each Act is introduced by a chorus.

Daniel's Tragedies.

"Cleopatra," first published in 1594, was never acted, and was only written in deference to the expressed wish of the Countess of Pembroke as a companion to her play called "Antony"—

"Cleopatra."

> "Who all alone hauing remained long,
> Required his Cleopatras company."

It represents the last few hours of the Egyptian queen's life at Alexandria, her death not being represented, but narrated

by a "Nuntius." The comparison of such a play with Shakespeare's "Antony and Cleopatra"—written, probably, two years after that of Daniel was published—would forcibly bring out the contrast between the Senecan tragedy as adopted in the classical French drama and that of England. "Philotas" was acted, and brought temporary trouble upon its author. It deals with a conspiracy against Alexander the Great in Persia, for which Philotas was tortured and put to death; and it pleased the minds of some to see in this an allusion to the recent rebellion of Essex. Daniel, therefore, wrote an apology for his play, as well as a lengthy letter on the subject to Lord Mountjoy, upon whose death in April, 1606, he afterwards produced some verse. "Philotas."

Sensitive, ambitious for fame, and feeling at times that his reputation as a writer was not all that he desired, there is a plaintive note in Daniel's verse. At the age of forty-five, in the lines to Prince Henry prefixed to "Philotas" he declared—

> "Yeeres hath done this wrong
> To make me write too much, and liue too long—
> . . . . . .
> And all our labours are without successe
> For either favour or our vertue failes."

Yet two years later, when he had become Groom of the Privy Chamber, he wrote in happier vein in the interesting lines before "Certain small workes"—

> "I know I shall be read among the rest
> So long as men speake English, and so long
> As verse and vertue shall be in request,
> Or grace to honest industry belong."

In his advancing years he betook himself to another form of honest industry, and, Fuller says, "turned husbandman." He rented the "Ridge," a farm near Beckington, in

Wilts; there he did his latest literary work, and there he died, aged fifty-seven, in October, 1619. At Beckington Church he lies buried.

It is in his sonnets alone that Daniel is really great, and Malone truly traced in him the "master" of Shakespeare as a sonnet-writer. In diction, imagery, and in the form of the sonnet—three alternately rhyming quatrains and a couplet—the resemblance is close.

Shakespeare's "sugred Sonnets among his private friends" had been mentioned by Meres in 1598," * and the opening sonnet of "The Passionate Pilgrim," published next year, was that afterwards numbered cxxxviii. in the collected edition issued in 1609. It speaks of the falsity of the lady of his love, and describes himself as already old at thirty-five. Another sonnet, also first published in this volume, is the interesting poem cxliv.—

Shakespeare's Sonnets.

> "Two loves I have of comfort and despair,
> Which like two spirits do suggest me still.
> The better angel is a man right fair,
> The worser spirit a woman colour'd ill."

This has all the appearance of being written in the spirit of allegory prevalent at that day, and suggests an idea similar to that embodied by Plato in his illustration of the human soul with its black- and white-winged steeds, or that represented by Marlowe in the good and bad angels that attend upon the fate of Faustus. All probability concurs to make us think that these were two of the sonnets referred to by Meres in the previous year; and the fact that they, and possibly others of a similar character, were circulated in 1598 and printed in 1599 tells heavily against their referring to any real facts, and supports the contention—which I consider the true one—that these two poems, as well as the

* "E. W." x. 368.

whole group from cxxvii.-clii., of which they form so striking andtypical a portion, are as much works of pure imagination as we know sonnets clv. and clvi. to be.

The 156 sonnets appeared in 1609 as "Shake-speares Sonnets. Neuer before Imprinted. At London. By G. Eld for T. T., and are to be solde by William Apsley. 1609." The dedication signed by T. T., was addressed "To the onlie Begetter of these insuing Sonnets M. W. H." They fall naturally into three divisions, the last of which contains only two poems (clv. and clvi.); and these are but variations upon a theme derived ultimately from a Greek source.* Sonnets i.-cxxvi. form a connected series, dealing with a real or imaginary love for a man; while sonnets cxxvii.-clii. are *disjecta membra* referring to the passion for a "dark lady." †

The first hundred and twenty-six sonnets tell a sufficiently clear story, and there can be no doubt that they, and the whole body of sonnets, were purposely arranged as they now stand. The suggested revised arrangements by writers like Bodenstedt, F. V. Hugo, and Stengel are quite futile. It must be noted, however, that even the first sequence is not perfect. Sonnet cxv. distinctly refers to a non-existent sonnet—or sonnets—which had declared that the poet could not love his friend more dearly—

> "Those lines that I before have writ do lie,
> Even those that said I could not love you dearer."

No such statement is made in the existing sonnets, and

* Herr Hertzberg, in the *Jahrbuch* of the German Shak. Soc., 1878, pp. 158-62, showed that these were founded on a poem by Marianus, a Byzantine Greek of probably 400-500 A.D. There were several Latin translations during the sixteenth century.

† Mr. Tyler, who, like some other students, believes in the reality of this "dark lady," has endeavoured to identify her with a Mrs. Mary Fitton. (See *Bibliography*, under *Shakespeare*, "Sonnets.")

such missing verse might, I think, find a place after lxxxv. Another imperfection, the only one of its kind which I can trace, also seems to exist at this place in the presence of lxxvii.; this separates two connected sonnets, the theme of which is afterwards continued right on to lxxxvi.

This first main division may be again divided into three groups. Sonnets i.-xxvi. deal with the poet's friend, his duty to marry (i.-xvii.), and Shakespeare's love for him (xviii.-xxv.), concluding with an Envoy. The bright character of this group may be indicated by the name "Sunshine." In sonnets xxvii.-xcvi. the friends become separated, at first by bodily absence, and then, for a time, in spirit; this portion may be termed "Clouds."* From xcvii.-cxxvi. the poet is, after his reconciliation with his friend, continually looking backward upon the past and reflecting upon it. It may therefore be termed "Reconciliation and Retrospect."

I. SUNSHINE. i.–xxvi.

The sonnets throughout are, like the poems in "In Memoriam," subtly interwoven, and the opening group merits close attention because in it, as in a musical overture, are contained a number of the "motives" which recur again and again, differently harmonised, throughout the whole series. (1) In sonnet xii. the thought is "Change and decay in all around I see," which reappears in xv., lx., and in lxiv.-v. This is usually associated with (2) the power of verse to secure an immortality which Nature cannot give—a thought which first appears in xv., and is repeated in the sonnets mentioned above. (3) In cv. the poet declares "Fair, kind, and true" to be his sole theme; and in xiv. two of these are first mentioned—truth and beauty—which again become prominent in liv. (4) Closely connected with this is the allusion in xvi. to "inward worth" and "outward fair" (*i.e.* fairness), which is afterwards developed in lxix. (5) But it is in xx. that the leading

* Mr. Spalding's Essay on the Sonnets suggested this name. That the poems fall naturally into the three main divisions given above may be indicated by the fact that my own division had been adopted before I was familiar with that of Mr. Spalding.

motive of the music of the sonnets is really introduced; the note of Constancy is then firmly struck, and it is heard again and again till, after discord has seemingly drowned it, it reappears at the close in increased sweetness of tone. In xx. "W. H." is not only beautiful and gentle—*i.e.* "fair and kind"—but he is *true;* he is "not acquainted with shifting change." In liii. this becomes "but you like none, none you, for constant heart;" while in xcii. his friend's inconstancy will involve the poet's death, and in cxvii., when all clouds have blown away, the poet declares that they had only gathered to "prove the constancy and virtue of your love." (6) xxi. is occupied with the thought of the truthful character of the poet's verse, unadorned and devoid of false colouring, "let me, true in love, but truly write." With this compare lxxxiii., "I never saw that you did painting need," etc. This eventually becomes the leading idea in sonnets lxxvi.-lxxxvi., which deal with the "rival poet." (7) In xxii. the poet fancifully represents the complete oneness of the friends by causing them to exchange hearts; division and separation afterwards become predominant (xxxvi., xxxix., lxxxvii.), but when reconciliation has taken place the poet comes back once more to his "home of love" within his friend's breast (cix.). (8) Sonnet xxii. also dwells on another thought frequently repeated: so closely are the friends identified that the poet will not be persuaded that he is old: they are one—"how can I then be elder than thou art?" This is taken up again in lxii. (9) xxiii. mentions a lack of power of expression; the poet, like a fearful actor, "forgets to say the perfect ceremony of love's rite;" this ultimately develops into complete silence (lxxxiii., lxxxv.). (10) In xxiv. the eye is represented as painting a picture of the loved one upon the heart; in xlvi.-vii. temporary strife ensues between eye and heart as to their respective merits. (11) Sonnet xxv., the last of this sunny group except for the Envoy, closes with the assurance of perfect oneness; the poet loves and is beloved, he is where he "may not remove nor be removed." How clouds arise and obscure this sunshine, may be seen by comparing the companion picture in xci. Sonnet xxv. also contains (12) the first mention of the poet's lack of public honour (cf. xxix., cxi., cxii.).

The Envoy—xxvi.—alludes to (13) the poet's vassalage to his friend (cf. lvii.); to (14) the poverty of his verse (cf. xxxii., xxxviii., and lxxvi.); and (15) to that personal unworthiness which is afterwards developed in xxix. and lxxii.

II. CLOUDS. XXVII.-XCVI.

The sonnets thus grouped fall into eight smaller divisions. They chiefly relate to a period of continued absence begun in xxvii., alluded

to in xxxix. and in sonnet after sonnet from xliii. onward; while in l. and li. the journey begun in xxvii. is continued. There is no break in this absence, no mention of a return; and what has been called the "second absence," beginning at xliii., is incorrect. The last reference to absence is in lxi.; the first to being again present is in lxxv.

A. XXVII.-XXXI.—This opens with a journey in which, day and night (cf. xliii. and lxi.), the poet's thoughts are with his friend; even when he realises his own "outcast state" (xxix.), this is his comfort, and he finds consolation for the death of other friends (xxx.) in the possession of this one (xxxi.).

Sonnet xxxii. marks a "pause," of which there are several. The mention of death in the two previous sonnets has suggested the poet's own death; his poor rude verses (cf. xxvi.) will then be all that will remain. Let his friend treasure them. This should be contrasted with the mood of lxxi.-ii., where, in deeper dejection, the poet begs that his verse may be forgotten. This sonnet has a peculiar interest, on account of the distinct reference to other poets who may "better prove," and who may be read for "their style," as he for his love. This is a stepping-stone toward the "rival poet" series, lxxvi.-lxxxvi.

B. XXXIII.-XLII.—This group deals with "W. H.'s" fault; he has during the poet's continued absence (xxxix.) been led to accept and return the love of the poet's mistress. Still the poet's love for him fails not; he is still a glorious sun, though overclouded (xxxiii.); and when he repents even unto tears (xxxiv.) the poet justifies him even at his own expense (xxxv.), just as he afterwards offers to do in regard to another matter (lxxxviii.-ix.). He still takes comfort in the thought of this friend—his beauty, birth, wealth, and wit—and declares himself "ten times happy" (xxxvii.). The force of self-abnegation could no further go than in xl.; while in xlii., in the far-fetched style of the day, he represents himself as being consoled for the loss of his lady's love by the thought, "my friend and I are one . . . then she loves but me alone!" Sonnet xxxv. speaks of the fault of "W. H." as a "sensual fault," but the moral impurity sometimes supposed to be covered by the term—largely gathered from sonnets cxxvii.-cliii.—is quite inconsistent with the words in lxx.—

> "And thou present'st a pure, unstained prime.
> Thou hast pass'd by the ambush of young days,
> Either not assail'd, or victor being charged."

Moods may and do change—the poet is now elated, now depressed—but *facts* cannot alter, nor can the mode of viewing them so change as to allow of one who is really morally impure being thus spoken of.

It will be noticed that xxxviii. takes us one step nearer to the rival poet: "for who's so dumb that cannot write to thee?" (cf. xxxii.).

xliii. marks another "pause," in which the poet, as in xxvii.-viii. and in lxi.—still during absence—speaks of his thoughts day and night of his friend.

C. XLIV.-LXI.—This group falls into a number of smaller ones, to which names arising from the contents may be given.

α. XLIV.-V.—THE FOUR ELEMENTS.—"Earth and water" (the body) keep the friends apart; but through the "slight air" (the thought) and the "purging fire" (desire, which is defined in li. as "perfect'st love) they may hold communion.

β. XLVI.-VII. THE PORTRAIT.—During this continued absence eye and heart are at strife concerning a portrait of "W. H." The germ of this is to be found in the last two lines of xxiv.

γ. XLVIII.-IX. FOREBODINGS OF THE LOSS OF FRIENDSHIP.—When the poet had begun his journey (xxvii.) he had put away every trifling material thing under lock and key; but he could not so preserve his friend, and he now fears that he will be "stolen" (xlviii.). But if the day ever do come when his friend shall frown upon him (cf. lxxxviii.-ix.), the poet will feel that "W. H." is justified (cf. opening lines of lxxii.). For the illustration of jewels, cf. lxxv.

δ. L.-LII. THE JOURNEY CONTINUED: ANTICIPATED REUNION.—li. anticipates return; lii. deals with the peculiar worth of "W. H.," who when present leads the poet to "triumph," and during absence inspires "hope."

ε. LIII.-LV. TRUTH AND BEAUTY.—The mention in lii. of the worth of "W. H." suggests a question:—Of what can one so precious be composed? For every thing the poet sees or thinks of only serves to remind him of the absent friend, be it Adonis or Helen, or the seasons of the year. These last, "the spring and foison" (*i.e.* harvest or autumn), are particularly to be noticed, as in the Retrospect (xcvii.-ix.), where the poet looks back to this very period, he dwells upon the thoughts Nature had then suggested to him. In cxiii., where this period is again referred to, the whole mood of liii. is mirrored. But the peculiar worth of "W. H." lies in his "constancy" (liii. cf. xx.). This is developed in liv., the closing lines of which lead, in lv., to one of those moods of elation in which the poet feels that his verse shall make such beauty and constancy live till the Judgment day (cf. xviii.-ix., ci., cvii.; and contrast xxxii.).

ζ. LVI.-LVIII. LOVE'S DEVOTION.—Still absent, the poet uses the simile of the ebb and flow of the sea (lvi. 9-12) to illustrate the sorrow of absence and the joy of reunion; and then (lvii. and lviii.),

taking up the thought of xxvi. ("*Lord* of my love, to whom my *vassalage*," etc.), he proclaims himself the "slave" of this lord; and, doubtless referring to xxxiii.-xlii., declares that he has no right to question whatever his lord may please to do.

η. LIX.–LX. PAST AND FUTURE.—If there be nothing new in the world, cannot some record of the past show the image of one like "W. H."? (lix.). And as Time must destroy even his beauty (cf. xii., xv., lxiv.), the poet's verse shall preserve it for future ages (lx.). With lix. may be compared cvi., where the poet does search the "chronicle of wasted time" (*i.e.* of time past), and finds only an *attempt* to picture such worth and beauty as "W. H." possesses.

Sonnet lxi. again marks a "pause." It gives the last definite intimation of the absence begun in xxvii., and, like that sonnet and xliii., deals with "night thoughts." The closing words, "from me far off, *with others all too near*," imply at once absence from the poet and the fear, afterwards developed, that "W. H." doth "common grow"—*i.e.* is associating too freely with others (cf. end of lxix.).

D. LXII.–LXV.—A short group, which passes from considering the poet's own advancing years (cf. xxxix. and lxiii.) to the commemoration in verse of his friend's beauty, which must likewise decay beneath the hand of Time.

E. LXVI.–LXX.—The thought of lxiv., that his friend must die, had caused the poet to weep even while enjoying the possession of him; this thought had been as death to him (lxiv. 13-14), and the subject of Death now becomes prominent. In the style of nearly all the writers of his day—poets, dramatists, and prose writers—he reflects upon the evils of his age, until, sickened by the thought, he would fain die (lxvi.). But that would leave "W. H." alone in the world; yet why should that friend continue to live in such evil days? (lxvii.). The question is answered by declaring that Nature, bankrupt as she is, only treasures him to show what the good and great of bygone days were like. lxviii. develops this; lxix. and lxx. supply evidence of the evil days, for even "W. H." cannot escape slander.

F. LXXI.–LXXV.—The clouds of gloom now settle down, and lxxi. pictures a mood of depression deeper than that of xxxii.: the poet would be forgotten after death. The old thought of unworthiness (xxvi. and xlix.) comes back; his very verse shames him, and would shame the friend who should love it. Again he refers to his age (lxxiii., cf. xxii. and lxii.), and now feels, in his dejection, that this is the main reason for the pitying love bestowed upon him by "W. H." The thought of this love rouses him to a mood of greater confidence, and in lxxiv. he declares that in his verse what is best of him will survive.

G. LXXVI.–LXXXVI.—The fear expressed, as early as xxxii., that his poor rude lines might be "outstripp'd by *every* pen," "exceeded by the height of happier men," is now realised; for "*every* alien pen hath got my use, and under thee their poesy disperse" (lxxviii.). But in particular there is *one* "rival poet," with whom (lxxx.) in a mood of depression Shakespeare humbly compares himself, only to follow this at once (lxxxi.) with a mood of exultation. In lxxxiii. he returns to the thought of xxi., and justifies his plain and unadorned verse; while in lxxxiv. he charges "W. H." with vanity in desiring more. The silence alluded to as early as xxiii. has been misunderstood, and "W. H." has given countenance to the verse of another (lxxxvi.).

Several suggestions have been made as to this rival poet. George Chapman has found most favour; but *no* actual poet satisfies the conditions of what is rather the poetic and imaginative treatment of a theme common to all sonnet sequences—jealousy.

H. LXXXVII.–XCVI.—The heavy clouds seem at last to break in storm when "Farewell" is uttered in lxxxvii. But even these heaviest of clouds have a silver lining, for the word is uttered with deep self-abnegation (cf. B.). Trouble (cf. xxix.) is still oppressing the poet (xc.), but his greatest grief would be the loss of his friend (xci.): if he really do prove inconstant, the poet will die (xcii.). But even worse: "W. H." may pretend to be true, and the poet live deceived (xciii.). The thought of the iniquity of this leads to the slanders of lxx., then disbelieved in, now being taken up again and treated as true (xcv.-vi.).

III. RECONCILIATION AND RETROSPECT. XCVII.–CXXVI.

Most of what follows is distinctly retrospective. Reconciliation has taken place, and the past tense, not employed in the early portions of the sonnets, is here frequent (see Nos. 97, '8, '9; 108, '9, '10, '13, '15, '17, '18, '19, '20). There is no possibility of the "third" and "fourth" absences which even Professor Dowden would suggest. All references to absence are distinctly to the past. The duration of this absence also is given in xcvii.-ix.; it was in Summer and Autumn (xcvii.) and in Spring (xcvii.–ix.). This latter refers, of course, to the events of liii. The three years of civ. are the years since first the poet *saw* "W. H.," not the time since he began writing sonnets to him.

The silence of the past is referred to; it continues (cii.), but is now accepted as no sign of diminution of love. Sunshine has returned again after the long cloudy period; what seemed the eclipse of friendship (cvii.) has only made it more firm, and the poet loves his friend better than before (cxv.). True love does not alter with cloudy skies;

it looks on tempests even and is unshaken (cxvi.) The poet has never been really false at heart (cix.); he has only made trial of his friend's constancy (cxvii.). Both have been to blame; both have suffered (cxx.), and out of evil good has come—

> "O benefit of ill! now I find true
> That better is by evil still made better;
> And ruin'd love, when it is built anew,
> Grows fairer than at first, more strong, far greater." (cxix.).

The sonnet sequence closes, as it began (xxii.), in mutual self-surrender—"mutual render, only me for thee" (cxxv.); and with a repetition of the warning so often enforced from the opening lines onward—Time is fleeting: all must die. Nature, "bankrupt Nature" (lxvii.), may indeed long treasure the loved one, but he too must die at last—

> "She may detain, but not still keep, her treasure;
> Her audit, though delay'd, answer'd must be,
> And her quietus is to render thee."

This, it will be noticed, is but a varied echo of the opening portion of the poems, even to some of its very words—

> "Nature's bequest gives nothing, but doth lend.
> . . . . . .
> Then how when Nature calls thee to be gone,
> What acceptable audit canst thou leave?" (iv.).

It has been suggested that the "W. H." of the dedication is William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and that these 126 poems are the record of a real experience; but there is no evidence of such a friendship. Although some verse written for other purposes may have been afterwards incorporated in the Sonnets, the story they contain is doubtless imaginary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

N.B.—The following works are referred to in contracted form :— **Athenæ Cantabrigienses**, 2 vols., 1858 and '61 (Ch. H., and Thompson Cooper). **Biographia Britannica**, 1747-65, 6 vols.; revised by A. Kippis, 1778-93 (5 vols. only, extending from A—F). J. Payne Collier's **Bibliographical Catalogue**, 2 vols. 1865. Rev. T. Corser's **Collectanea Anglo-Poetica**; 11 "Parts" among the issues of the Chetham Soc. M'chester, 1860, etc. W. C. Hazlitt's **Handbook to the Popular Poetical and Dramatic Lit. from 1474-1700**, 1867; followed in 1876, '82, '87, 89 by additional **Collections and Notes** (J. G. Gray has prepared an **Index** to the whole). W. T. Lowndes' **Bibliographer's Manual**, revised by Hy. Bohn, 4 vols. 1857. Bishop Th. Tanner's **Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica**, folio, 1748 (Latin). Dr. Philip Bliss's revised edition of Anthony à Wood's **Athenæ Oxonienses**,—Wood (Bl.)—4 vols., 1813-20.

ABBOT, GEO. 1562—1633. Archbishop of Canterbury.

Wood (Bl.) II. 561-5, with list of works. Fullest notice, by Wm. Oldys, *Biog. Brit.* I. 3-24; (list of 11 works, p. 23, Note B); repr. sep. vol. 1777, with full list of authorities up to date. *Hist. of Eng.* 1603-42. 10 vols. (S. R. Gardiner); reliable (see *Index*, Vol. X., p. 227). *An Ecclesiastical Biography*, (Dean) W. F. Hook, 1845. 8 vols. (Names of "fathers and divines" alphabetically arranged. "Abbot," I. 7-39, with works and references at end.) *Lives of the Archbishops of Cant.* 12 vols. 1860-76. (Same author; arranged chronologically; see X., pp. 244-307. Meagre references on p. 244, note.) *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (S. L. Lee) I. 5-20.

ACHELLEY (ATCHELOW), THOS.

Translator.

VERSE.

1. 1576.—**A most lamentable and tragicall historie** (full title E. W. x. 368). A metrical version from Bandello. 39 leaves, 8vo. Bodl. (Malone). Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 4-7.

2. 1602.—**The Massacre of Money,** "*by T. A.*" B. M. (Date and initials wrongly given E. W. x. 369; Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 7-9, also distinguishes two Achelleys.)
3. —Commend. verses in Watson's **Ἑκατομπαθία,** 1581: and 12 signed poems in *Englands Parnassus,* 1600. (Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 108.)

PROSE.

1572.—**The Key of Knowledge** (prayers and meditations). Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 4.

ADAMS, CLEMENT. 1519?-1587. Schoolmaster and author (not a traveller).

Dict. of Nat. Biog. (C. H. Coote). *Athen. Cantab.* II. 6. 541.

Nova Anglorum ad Muscovitas Navigatio (full title E. W. ix. 116). An account (wr. 1554) of Rich Chancellor's 1st voyage (1553) to Russia; 1st pr. in Latin and English in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations,* pp. 270-292 (later ed. omit Latin). Given also in *Rerum Muscoviticarum Auctores varii* (Marnius and Aubrius: Frankfort, 1600). Repr., *Bibliotheca Curiosa* (a trans. by J. McCrindle; ed. with notes by E. Goldsmid); and in Cassell's *National Lib.* 1886, Vol. 177. (ed. Morley). Original MS. (ded. to "King" Philip, Mary's husband), in Pepys MS. 6821 (102), Magdalen Coll. Camb.

ALABASTER (ALABLASTER), WM. 1567-1640. Latin Poet and Divine.

Dict. of Nat. Biog. (Bullen). Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 16-18. E. W. ix. 371.

POETRY.

1. 1632.—**Roxana.** B. M.—Latin tragedy wr. 1592 *circa.* (See Hallam, *Hist. of Lit.* III. 277-8; ed. 1872.) MS. Lambeth, 838; and Cambridge, Bibl. Publ. Ff. ii. 9.
2. Malone's *Shakespeare* (ed. Boswell), *Prolegomena* II. 261-3 (note) prints 2 sonnets. Collier, *Eng. Dram.* 1879 II. 340-1 gives from MS. in his possession 2 others, out of 17 called *Devine Meditations.* In *Bibl. Cat.* I. 16-17 he also gives one of these two.

PROSE.—Theology and Philosophy.

i. 1598.—**Seven motives for his conversion to R. Cathol.** Known only by 2 replies by John Racster (1598) and Roger Fenton (1599); both in B. M. See Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 16-18; and *Athen. Cantab.* II. 271, under *John Racster.*
ii. 1607. Antwerp.—**Apparatus in revelationem J. Christi.** B. M.
iii. 1621.—**Commentarius de Bestia Apocalyptica.**

iv. 1633.—**Ecce Sponsus venit** (mystical account of end of world). B. M.
v. 1633.—**Spiraculum Tubarum.** Bodl.
vi. 1637.—**Lexicon Pentaglotton.** Folio. B. M. (Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Rabbinical, Arabic.)

UNPUBLISHED WORKS.

1. **Elissæis: Apotheosis Poetica . . . Elizabethæ.** A Latin hexameter epic; one Book only. (Referred to in Spenser's *Colin Clout.*) MS. in Emmanuel Coll. Camb.
2. *In ducs Reginaldos inter se de religione certantes* (Ashmole MS. 38, Art. 87).
3. Latin Elegiacs in praise of Camden. (Cotton MS., *Julius C.* v. 10.)

ALEXANDER, SIR WM. (E. of Stirling). 1567?—1640. Scholar, Poet, Statesman, Coloniser.

Memorials of the E. of Stirling, and of the House of Alexander (Rev. C. Rogers. 1877. 2 vols. Edin.) gives a life (I. Chap. ii.-vii.) and portrait. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (Grosart) good. B. M. has copies of all 1st ed., except 1612 *Elegie.*

POEMS.—Chalmers *Poets*, V. 287-439, gives all but No. 5. (No. 4 as in 1637 ed.); it also gives the choruses of (B).

1. 1604.—**Avrora, containing the first fancies of the Authors youth** (omitted from 1637 ed.).
2. 1604.—**A Parænesis to the Prince** (13 leaves; 84 stanzas).
3. 1612.—**An Elegie on the Death of Prince Henrie** (4. l.) Repr. 1613. B. M.
4. 1614.—**Doomes-day, or, the great day of the Lords Judgement** (in 4 "houres" or Books: 1637 ed. has 12 "houres" and 11,000 lines).
5. 1631.—**The Psalmes of King David.** *Translated by King James* (*really* by Sir W. A.).
6. 1637. fol. pp. 326.—**Recreations with the Muses** (with portrait) contains the dramas; Nos. 2 and 4 *supra;* and Bk. I. of **Jonathan,** "an heroicke Poeme intended." (105 stanzas.)

DRAMA.

1607. 4°. 204. l.—**The Monarchicke Tragedies, newly enlarged.** This ed. contained (1) **Darius,** pub. 1603; repr. 1604 with (2) **Croesus** as *The Monarchick Tragedies;* (3) **The Alexandræan,** 1605; (4) **Julius Caesar,** being added. Repr. 1637 ed. (No. 6 *supra.*)

PROSE.

i. 1613.—"Completion" of *Arcadia* (see *Sidney*). Pub. in 4th and later ed.
ii. 1624.—**An Encouragement to Colonies** (with map of New England). Repr. 1625 and 1630. Repub. 1865 with notes and memoir (Rev. E. F. Slafter), for *Prince Soc.*, Albany, U.S.A.; and *Bannatyne Club* (ed. D. Laing), 1867.

iii. 1677.—**Anacrisis; or, A Censure of the Poets, Ancient and Modern**, given by Rogers (*supra*) in Appendix iv. Vol. II.

ALLOTT, ROBERT. fl. 1600. Editor and compiler of Miscellanies.

Dict. of Nat. Biog., Articles "Allott" and "Bodenham." Collier and Corser, vide *infra*.

1. 1599.—**Wits Theater of the Little World.** A thick 16° vol. of brief extracts from ancient authors classified under headings. Two ed. in 1599; earlier (B. M. 1078. a. 26) has an unsigned prefatory address to I. B. The other (B. M. 123. b. 24) is identical (except for the transposition of the table of authors' names); but is addressed to *Maister John Bodenham*, and signed *Robert Allott*.
2. 1600.—**Englands Parnassus** (see Corser I. 35-7; Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 108-11). An 8° of 500 pp. *circa*, containing "over 2000 signed quotations" (often very incorrect) from poets, under headings. (Collier gives alphabetical list of 42 authors and number of quotations from each. Swinburne, *Essay on Chapman*, 1875, pp. 175-187, gives 83 from Ch. instead of Collier's 69.) Repr. by Park in *Heliconia*, 1815; and Collier, *Seven Eng. Poet. Miscell.*, 1867, Vol. VI.

ANDREWES, LANCELOT. 1555-1626. Bishop of Winchester.

LIFE.—*Memoir of Life and Works* (A. T. Russell, 1863), is the best; H. Isaacson, 1650 (vide *Works*); *Lives of Eng. Divines* (W. H. Teale, 1846, in a vol. with 4 others); *Masters in Eng. Theology* (King's Coll. Lectures, ed. Bp. Barry, 1877), by Dean R. W. Church; *Classic Preachers of the Eng. Church* (St. James' Lectures, Series II., ed. J. E. Kempe). *Biog. Brit.* E. W. xi. 144-155.

WORKS.—*Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.* 11 vols., 1841-54. Vols. I.-V. (ed. J. P. Wilson), 96 sermons; Vols. VI.-XI., ed. J. Bliss.—VI. 1846, 5 minor works; VII., 1851, **Tortura Torti**, pp. 496, pub. 1609; VIII., 1851, **Responsio ad apologiam Bellarmini**, pub. 1610; IX., 1852, **Opuscula Posthuma** (with general Index); X., 1853, **Preces privatæ**; XI., 1854, **Two answers to Card. Perron**, and **Manual of Devotions** (this vol. includes Isaacson's *Life*).

Manual of Private Devotion, 1647. B. M. The second ed., 1648, was an authorised ed.; being a trans. by Rich. Drake from the Bishop's own MS., written in Greek by his

amanuensis. This famous devotional work has been often translated and re-issued, *e.g.* :—by Dean Stanhope, 1808, etc.; Canon Venables, 1883; in the *Tracts for the Times* No. 88, Vol. V. by (Cardinal) J. H. Newman (Pt. I., only). This last was re-issued as a sep. vol. 1842; in 1844 a trans. (by J. M. Neale) of the 2nd pt. followed. The best ed. (Greek only) is that of 1892, *Soc. Prom. Christ. Knowl.* (ed., with a good preface, by P. G. Medd, from a recently discovered Greek MS. in the Bishop's handwriting, and given by him to Wm. Laud, Arch. of Cant.)

ASCHAM, ROGER. 1515-1568. Teacher and Prose Writer.

Life.—1879.—*Roger Ascham, sein Leben und seine Werke* (Dr. Alf. Katterfeld, Strassburg, pp. 369; the best; full bibliography, pp. 355-369); Dr. Johnson; Hartley Coleridge (repr. in Bohn's cheap issue of Mayor's ed. of *Schoolmaster*, 1884); Dr. Giles, Vol. I.; (Giles, III. 294-355, prints Grant's *Oratio de Vita*, etc., 1576, the original source of all information). *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (good). *Athenæ Cantab.* I. 263-8.

Letters.—1576—**Familiarium Epistolarum Libri 3** (with a Life) ed. Grant. Repr. 1578, '81 and '90 (London); 1602, 1610 (Hanover); 1611 (Geneva); **Libri 4** (Wm. Elstob) 1703, Oxford, inaccurate. Whittaker, *Richmondshire*, I. 265-90, 1823, gave others. 1864-5, Dr. Giles (best ed.).

Works.—1864-5.—3 vols. 8° (Dr. Giles), the best ed., containing *Life* and *Letters* (many printed for the first time).

English Works.—1761.—4°. The 3 Eng. works (ed. James Bennet, with notes and *Life* by Dr. Sam. Johnson); 1815, ed. J. G. Cochrane (250 copies), re-issued [n.d.].

Separate Works.

A. English.

i. 1545. 4°. B. L.—**Toxophilus** (repr. 1571 and 1589. All 3 B. M.). 1st ed. repr. Dr. Giles, 1865; and in Arber's *Reprints*, 1868 (see p. x. for Bibliography).

ii. [1553? *circa*] n.d.—**A report . . of the affaires and state of Germany**. B. M.

iii. 1570.—**The Scholemaster** (7 ed. up to 1589). Repr. 1711, 1743; (Rev. James Upton). Best ed. 1863 (Prof. J. E. B. Mayor), with elaborate notes. Arber *Reprints*, 1870 (see for Bibliography). Mayor's ed. (with H. Coleridge's *Life*) is repr. in Bohn's *Cheap Series*, 1884. Cassell's *National Library*.

B. Latin.

1. 1542.—*Expositiones* of the Epistles of Titus and Philemon.
2. 1577.—*Apologia pro Coena Dominica contra Missam.*
3. 1551.—*Epistola J. Sturmio de Nobilitate Anglicana.*

AWDELEY (AWDELAY) JOHN. Published 1559—1577 (*Arber*). Printer and Miscellaneous Writer.

N.B.—Also called John Sampson and Sampson Awdelay. Arber, *Stat. Reg.* I. 147, entry 5, gives both names in an official entry.

Arber's Transcript *Stat. Registers*, most reliable; (Vol. V., Index, p. 217, gives 50 references). Hazlitt, *Handbook*, p. 18; *Collections*, p. 18. Ames' *Typographical Antiquities*, ed. 1819, IV. 563-70. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (S. L. Lee).

1. **Fraternitye of Vacabondes** (full title, E. W. x. 96), 1565 (2 editions); repr., 1575. Valuable for social history. Repr. from Bodl. copy, 1869, *E. Eng. Text Soc.* (ed. Viles and Furnivall); and 1880, *New Shak. Soc.*
2. **Ballads.** *Stat. Reg.* gives over 20 pr. by him. It is not known how many of these he may have written. *Ancient Ballads* (Hy. Huth, 1867) repr. **The Wonders of England**, 1559 (signed I. A.), a folio sheet of 11 10-line stanzas; also **A godly ditty or Prayer.** [1570? n.d.] Broadside. B. L. (signed Ioh. Awdely). Both in Huth Collection. Collier, *Old Ballads Percy Soc.* I. 1842, pp. 28-37, repr. **The cruel assault of Gods Fort**, 47 4-line stanzas. [n.d.] (1559 or 1560. Collier.) Other known verses are: **Ecclesi. XX. Remember Death and thou shalt never sinne**, a sheet signed "Joh. Awd[eley]" and printed Ap. 30, 1569 (*vide* Hazlitt). **Epitaphe upon the Death of Mayster John Veron** (folio sheet, licensed 1562). The *Epitaphs on Dr. Haddon* and *Francis Benson* (Arber, *Stat. Reg.* I. 442) are probably by him. He also wrote verses before Gregory Scot's *Brief Treatise against certain errors of the Romish Church* (pr. by him 1574).

AYLMER, JOHN. 1521—1594. Bishop of London.

LIFE by Strype; repr. *Clar. Press*, 1821, pp. 219, with portrait. *Athen. Cantab.* II. 168-73; full, with list of works, which include *Prayers* (3 issues); *Sermons; Letters;* and ? Preface to de Loques' *Treatise of the Church*, 1581.

1559.—**An Harborowe for faithfull and trewe Subjects against the late blowne Blaste, concerning the Government of Women.** (Strasburg, *anon.*). B. M. See *Knox.* E. W. viii. 181.

BACON, FRANCIS. 1561—1626. Philosopher, Statesman, Lawyer.

LIFE.—Spedding's *Life and Letters*, 7 vols. 1861-74; his *Life and Times of Francis Bacon*, 1878, 2 vols., contains most of the former, except the letters. *English Men of Letters Series*, 1889 (Dean R. W. Church). *Philosophers Series*,

by Th. Fowler (President Corpus Christi Coll., Oxon.), who wrote article in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* Rémusat's *Bacon, sa vie, son temps, et sa philosophie*, 1857.

Collected Works.—Best edition 1857-59, 7 vols. ed. J. Spedding; R. L. Ellis; D. D. Heath. Earlier editions, 1730 (J. Blackbourne); 1740 and '53, 4 vols. fol. with *Life* by Mallet; 1765 (Birch); 1825-36, 17 vols. 8° (Basil Montagu), reviewed by Macaulay, *Ed. Review*, July, 1837.

Posthumous Miscellaneous "Collections."—1627. **Sylva Sylvarum** and the **New Atlantis**—1629, *Certain miscellany works*—1638, *Opera moralia and civilia*—1657, *Resuscitatio* (with life), English pieces and trans. only; enlarged ed. 1661 and '71—1658, *Opuscula Varia Posthuma* (Latin). All edited by Dr. Rawley, B.'s chaplain. Also 1648, *The Remains of Francis Ld. Verulam* (not reliable); and 1653, *Scripta in Naturali et Universali Philosophia*, pub. at Amsterdam.

Separate Works (references to Spedding's seven vol. ed.).

Philosophy. See I. p. 71-77 of preface to *Novum Organum* (R. L. Ellis) for the plan of the *Instauratio.*

1. 1605.—**The Advancement of Learning** (English). *Clar. Press* ed. 1869. (Aldis Wright.)
2. 1623.—**De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum. Lib. IX.** (Pt. I. of *Instauratio*, being 1 *supra*, enlarged and Latinised. See Preface, I. 415-422. Sp.)
3. 1620.—**Novum Organum.** (Pt. II. of *Instauratio;* incomplete, see Preface, 76-7. Sp.) 1878, *Clar. Press.* (Th. Fowler); a most able edition. Spedding gives the Latin text of 2 and 3 in Vol. I.; Eng. trans. Vol. IV. and pt. of V. N.B.—Pt. III. of *Instauratio*, called **Phœnomena Universi**, exists only in fragments. These are **Historia Ventorum**, pr. 1622; **Hist. Vitae et Mortis**, pr. 1622-23; **Hist. Densi et rari**, pr. 1658 (in *Opuscula Varia Posthuma*), being 3 out of 6 "Histories" intended; and **Sylva Sylvarum**, or a Natural History (in *English*), pr. 1627. Of Pts. IV. and V. Prefaces exist; of Pt. VI. nothing. See Sp. Vol. II. for Latin text; Vol. V. for trans.

Religious. (Sp. Vol. VII.)

1597.—**Meditationes Sacrae.** Latin; (trans. in Sp.) Pr. after the *Essays* in 1st ed.

1648.—In the *Remains* (vide "Collections" *supra*): **A Confession of Faith** (Sp. pp. 219-226). Wr. by 1603.

1625.—*Translation of some Psalms*, wr. 1624 (Sp. 265-86); 3 *Prayers*, a fourth being doubtful (Sp. 257-62). See *Tatler*, No. 267 (Addison).

N.B.—The *Christian Paradoxes* (Sp. Appendix 289-297) is not by Bacon. See Grosart's *Lord Bacon not the author of "The Christian Paradoxes;" being a reprint of the "Memorials of Godliness and Christianity," by Herbert Palmer, B.D.* 1865. Grosart's Introduction traces the history of the work; it is

simply the first of the five §§ in Pt. II. of Palmer's "Memorials" (which has three Parts in all).

Legal. Vol. VII. pp. 299-781, ed. D. D. Heath.
1630.—**Maxims of the Law.** 1642. **Reading on the Statute of Uses.** *Speeches, arguments, etc.*

General Literature. (Sp. Vol. VI.)

1. **Essays.**—1597, sm. 8°, 10 Essays, followed by **Meditationes Sacræ** (Latin), and **The Coulers of Good and Euill** termed a "fragment." [Some of B.'s notes for the completion of this last are given by Spedding, VII. 187-211; they have been pub. in full as *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies*, 1882 (Mrs. Henry Pott), from the MS in B. M.] 2nd ed., 1612 (38 Essays); 3rd, 1625 (58 Essays). Arber's *Reprint*, 1869, gives a *Harmony* of these texts in columns. Spedding prints all three ed. with prefaces. Editions by Archbp. Whately (6th ed. 1864); Dr. Abbott (1879); W. Aldis Wright (1878), who gives 1597 and 1625 ed.
2. **De Sapientia Veterum.**—1609, 12°. Translation, 1619.
3. **Apophthegms New and Old.**—1624 (dated 1625). For the history of these see Sp. VII. 113-20. They are included in the edition of Essays in the *Universal Library* (Prof. Morley).
4. Historical fragments.—1. **History of Henry VII.**, 1622 (245 pp. Sp.)—2. Opening of the **Hist. of H. VIII.** (1½ pp.)—3. **In felicem memoriam Elizabethae** (12 pp. Latin. Sp.)—4. **A memorial of Pr. Henry** (2 pp. Latin)—5. **The beginning of the History of Grt. Britain** (4 pp. Sp.). For details of publication, etc., see Spedding. Vol. VI.
5. Spedding also gives 4 other *fragments*, with details of publication. VI., pp. 331, etc.

BALDWIN, WM. fl. 1547. Printer and Verse Writer.

Wood (Bl.) I. 341-3. Corser I. 123-9, where other references are given. Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 22-3. *Vide* also No. 5 *infra*.

1. 1547.—**A Treatise of Morall Phylosophye.** (12 ed. up to 1651; all in B. M., but 1st ed. imperfect.)
2. 1549.—**Canticles or Balades of Salomon, phraselyke declared in Englysh Metres.** B. M.
3. 1559.—4 Pieces in *Mirrour for Magistrates*. q.v.
4. 1560.—12. l. **The Funeralles of King Edward the Sixt,** followed by **an Exhortacion to the Repentaunce of Sinnes** and an **Epitaph** on Edward. B. M. All in verse. Repr. *Roxburghe* Club, 1817. See Corser I. 123-129.
5. **A Marvellous Hystory intitulede Beware the Cat.** Ritson mentions an anon. ed. 1561 (doubtful). Dr. Bliss had a fragment of 4 leaves of 1570 ed. 1580 ed., unique copy in Huth Lib. (see Catalogue, p. 80). Repr. 1584; and 1652 (not known). 1864, 10 copies pr. privately by Halliwell (not in B. M.). *Preface* repr. in *Book of Prefaces*, 1874 (Hazlitt and

Huth). See also H. Huth's *Fugitive Tracts*, 1875 (Tract XIX., and Introduction) for 56 lines of a verse reply. Corser I. 108-16. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 43-7.

Attributed to him—

1. 1569.—**The Shippe of Safegarde**, "written by G.B.," i.e. Gulielmus Baldwin? *Verse.* (See Hazlitt.)
2. 1571.—**To warne the papistes to beware of three trees.** A sheet of 11 8-line stanzas. Signed G. B. (Hazlitt.)

BALE, JOHN. 1495—1563. Bishop of Ossory.

Good account *Athen. Cantab.* I. 225-230, with full authorities. Short notice, 6 pp., *Parker Soc.* (*infra*). *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (Dr. Creighton), fair. E. W. vii. 282-4; viii. 111-120.

WORKS.—See list in his own **Scriptorum Illust.** Tanner, p. 68-71, mentions 85 in print or MS. *Athen. Cantab.* gives 90. *Parker Soc.*, 1849 (ed. Rev. H. Christmas), printed *Select Works*, pp. 647.

PROSE (*incomplete list, vide supra*).

1. 1544.—**A brefe chronycle concernynge the examinacyon and death of syr J. Oldecastell.** B.M. Repr. *Harl. Miscell.* II. 249-55. E. W. viii. 113.
2. 1546.—**The Actes of Englysh Votaryes.** B. M. (often reprinted). E. W. viii. 113.
3. 1546.—**The first examinacyon of A. Askewe lately martyred in Smythfelde.** B. M.
4. 1547.—**The lattre Examinacyon of A. Askewe.** B. M.
5. 1548.—4°. Wesel. **Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum Summarium**, in 5 *centuries* (i.e. 500 writers). B. M. 2nd ed. 1557, fol., Basel (pr. Oporinus); 900 writers, with Bale's portrait. (B. M. copy has Bale's MS. notes.) In 1559 Oporinus (d. 1568) added 250 pp., together with index to the whole. (1400 writers.)
6. 1550.—**The Image of bothe Churches.** (His best controversial work.) E. W. viii. 114.
7. 1553.—**The Vocacyon of John Bale to the bishoprick of Ossorie.** B. M. Repr. *Harl. Miscell.* VI. 437, ed. 1810.
8. 1558.—**Acta Romanorum Pontificum.**
9. 1574.—**The Pageant of Popes.** The lives of Popes to 1555; being No. 8 englished by J(ohn) S(tudely), with additions.

DRAMA.—*Athen. Cantab.* mentions 35 plays (Nos. 32-51 in the list); 5 exist. See Ward (*Eng. Dram. Lit.* I. 95-104), who states in error (p. 96) that 5 *infra* remains in MS. Collier, *Eng. Dram.* II. 159-167.

1. **Kynge Johan.**—ed. Collier for *Camden Soc.* 1838, from unique MS. in D. of Devonshire's collection.
2. **God's Promises**, compiled 1538. 4°. B. M. repr. *Dodsley* I.; and Hazlitt's *Dodsley* I.
3. **The Temptacyon of our Lorde**, compiled 1538; pub. [n.d.]

8°. Repr. *Fuller's Worthies Lib. Misc.* (Grosart), 1870, from unique copy in Bodl. (Douce collection.)

4. **Johan Baptystes preachynge in the Wylderneese.** wr. 1538; pub. [n.d.]. 8°. Repr. *Harl. Miscell.* I. pp. 101-14.
5. **The Three Laws of Nature, Moses and Christ.** Compiled 1538; pr. n.d. [1550?]. 8°. B. M. Another ed. 1562.

BARNES, BARNABE. 1569?—1609. Poet.

POETICAL WORKS.—1875.—ed. Grosart (30 copies), with Introduction; Pt. I., No. 1 *infra*; Pt. II., No. 2. (*Academy*, Sep. 2, 1876, Vol. x. 231, contains a criticism by Prof. Dowden.) Wood (Bl.) II. 47. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (Bullen).

POETRY.

1. 1593.—**Parthenophil and Parthenophe.** See E. W. x. 214. It has 3 Parts. I., headed *Sonnets*, contains 104 sonnets, 26 madrigals, and 1 sestine intermingled; II., *Elegies* (21), a canzone and a trans. of Moschus Idyl I.; III., *Odes pastorall* (20) and a sonnet (No. 105), 2 canzones and 4 sestines. Duke of Devonshire's copy (unique) has date cut away, but *Stat. Registers'* entry is dated May 10, 1593. Repr. Arber, *Eng. Garner*, Vol. V. 1882; and Grosart.
2. 1595.—**A Divine Centurie of Spirituall Sonnets** (100) and a *hymn to the Trinity*. 2 copies known; the author's gift copy is in York Cathedral Lib. Repr. *Heliconia* II. 1815 (Th. Park).

PROSE.

1606—**Foure Bookes of Offices**, a dull folio of 210 pp.; full title E. W. x. 215. B. M.

DRAMA.

1. 1607.—**The Divils Charter: a Tragœdie conteining the Life and Death of Pope Alexander the Sixt, etc.** B. M. Specimens given in Grosart's Introduction.
2. **The Battle of Hexham.** (*sic* Hazlitt, *Handbook*; Grosart says *Evesham*.) Not printed. MS. not now known; sold 1807 with Issac Reed's books.

BARNFIELD, RICHARD. 1574—1627. Poet.

COMPLETE POEMS.—1876.—*Roxburghe Club* (ed. Grosart, with Life). 1882, Arber, *Eng. Schol. Lib.*, No. 14, pp. xxiv. 124; full bibliography, p. vii. E. W. x. 474-8.

1. 1594, Nov.—**The Affectionate Shepheard.** (Full title E. W. x. 475-6.) 2 copies known. Repr. 1842, *Percy Soc.*, Vol. XX. (ed. Halliwell), and *ut supra*.
2. 1595, Jan.—**Cynthia. With certaine Sonnets, and the Legend of Cassandra.** (Bodleian, unique.) Repr. 1841, *Beldornie*

Press (16 copies, ed. E. V. Utterson); and *supra*. See Corser I. 184-6.

3. 1598.—**The Encomion of Lady Pecunia, &c.** (Bodleian unique), containing 4 thin verse pamphlets—(1) *The Encomion of Lady P., or The praise of Money;* (2) *The Complaint of Poetrie;* (3) *The Combat, betweene Conscience and Couetousnesse:* (4) *Poems in diuers humors.* Repr. 1605, "Newly corrected and enlarged." (2 copies known); 1816, *Roxburghe Soc.* facsimile ed. of 35 copies; 1866, *Illustrations of Old Eng. Lit.* Vol. I. (Collier, 50 copies).

N.B.—*The Passionate Pilgrime*, 1599, printed two of B.'s poems as by Shakespeare. (E. W. x. 478-9.)

BARROW, HENRY. d. 1593. Reformer.

Dict. of Nat. Biog., III. 297-8 (A. B. Grosart), full, with list of references. *Introd. to Marprelate Controversy* (Arber, *Eng. Schol. Lib.*, Pt. VIII.). *The Congregationalism of the last 300 years* (H. M. Dexter). 1881.

[1593?] **The Examinations of Henry Barrowe, &c.** (full title E. W. ix. 304). B. M. Repr. *Harl. Miscel.* IV. 340-365.

BASTARD, THOMAS. 1566—1618. Satirist, Divine.

POEMS.—Latin and English, 1880, (ed. Grosart.) pp. xlii. 137 (52 copies.) For Life, etc., see Grosart, and *Généalogie de la maison de Bastard*, Paris, 1847 (mentioned by Grosart). Wood (Bl.) II. 227-9. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* E. W. x. 410-12.

1. 1598.—16°. **Chrestoleros: Seuen Bookes of Epigrames.** (290 of them.) B. M. Repr. *Beldornie Press.* 1842. 16°. (ed. E. V. Utterson.)
2. 1605.—4°. **Serenissimo potentissimoque Monarchæ Jacobo** (Latin poem to James; 3 Bks., about 800 lines). B. M.
3. *Verses* on death of Sidney, 1587; on the death of Burleigh's daughter Ann, Countess of Oxford; and 1611, English *Commendatory verses in* Coryat's *Crudities.* (See Grosart's Introduction.)

PROSE.

1615.—*Five sermons.* 1615, *Twelve sermons* (the former 5 with 7 others). See descriptions and quotations in Grosart's Introduction, *Occas. Issues XIII.*

BEAUMONT, FRANCIS. 1584—1616. Poet and Dramatist.

For the dramatic Works and their editions, see *Fletcher, J.* G. C. Macaulay's *Francis Beaumont, a critical study* (now out of print), deals with the dramatic poetry.

POEMS.—Given in Weber, Vol. XIV.; Dyce, Vol. XI. (see *Fletcher*). Chalmers' *Poets* VI. 179—221 reprints the 1653 ed.

1. 1602.—**Salmacis and Hermaphroditus.** Bodl. (900 lines based on 104 of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* IV. Fable 7). Of doubtful authenticity; see Macaulay, *supra*, pp. 197-200; Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 60-62, etc. Swinburne, *Ency. Brit.* Ed. IX., accepts it as B.'s.
2. 1607, '9 '11.—Verses prefixed to B. Jonson's *Volpone*, *Silent Woman*, and *Catiline*.
3. [1612?]—Nichol's *History of Leicestershire*, ed. 1804, III. p. 657* (following p. 660), reprinted two poems: **Ad Comitessam Rutlandiæ** and an **Elegy on the death of the Countess of Rutland**, and said, "on the death of Eliz., daughter of Sir Ph. Sidney (d. Aug., 1612), Mr. B. *published* the following epistle and elegie." Nothing is known of such an edition. They were afterwards prefixed to editions of Sir Thos. Overbury's *Characters* (1616, and later ed.), without B.'s name; and appeared in *Certain Elegies done by sundrie excellent wits; With satyrs and epigrams* pr. 1617, '18, '20, and [n.d.] (A repr. of 1620 ed., *Beldornie Press*, 1843. 12 copies). The "Elegy" was printed at the beginning of this latter volume, together with two poems by Drayton, and one by "N. H."
4. 1640.—**Poems by Francis Beaumont, Gent.** B. M. A thin bookseller's 4° ed. of 39 leaves, containing 17 poems, *The Hermaphrodite*, pp. 30, being the only one pub. during B.'s lifetime. *The Remedie of Love*, pp. 19 (based on Ovid's "De Remedio Amoris," Bk. I.) followed. The 15 other poems occupy 20 pp., and are of doubtful origin. Dyce repr. only 8, and marks 7 as doubtful (Nos. 3-9 in his ed. Vol. XI.). The *Elegie on Lady Markham* (first of the 15 in 1640 ed.) is all that he authoritatively retains. Of the 7 omitted, two songs are known from MS. note in Bridgewater Lib. copy (by Harry Lawes, who set them to music), to be by Hy. Harrington (see Collier, *Bridgewater Cat.* p. 27). Two others are verses by Bishops Earle and Corbet on the death of Beaumont. One is on the death of Mrs. Anne Lyttleton, who died 1623 (*i.e.* 7 years after B.; Weber Introd. p. cxxi.; and Dyce XI. p. 442). *Woman's Mutability* is omitted from the 1653 ed.; and the *Elegie* ("Can my poor lines," etc.) is part of Sir J. Beaumont's poem on the Marquess of Winchester.
5. 1653.—**Poems by Francis Beaumont, Gent.** An enlarged 8° ed. of still more doubtful character. Repr. 1660 as **The Golden Remains of those so much admired Dramatick Poets, Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher.** The first 14 poems repr. 1640 ed. omitting the two poems on B.'s death and *Woman's Mutabilitie*. 31 poems follow, besides B.'s Masque and various prologues and epilogues. Dyce retains four, marking two as "doubtful,"—*The examination of his mistress' perfections*, and *On the tombs at Westminster*. The *Letter to Ben Jonson* is retained as being appended in both

folios (1647 and '79) to the *Nice Valour;* and the *Funerall elegy on the death of Lady Penelope Clifton* is given as by B. in Harl. MS. 3910. f. 19. Other poems are known to be by Sir J. Beaumont (his elder brother), Donne, B. Jonson, Randolph, Carew, Shirley, Cleveland, and Waller. Several pieces are still untraced (Dyce XI. 442). Corser II. 229-231 gives a detailed account of the contents. Chalmers, *Poets* VI. 179-221, reprints this ed.

BECON, THOS., D.D. (wrote *sub. nom.* Theo. Basille). 1512–1567. Protestant Divine.

Works.—(Full list of 47, *Athen. Cantab.* I. 246-50.) 1563-4, 3 vols. folio, **The Workes of Th. Becon.** *Parker Soc.* (ed. Rev. John Ayre) issued Vol. I., *Early Works* (with *Life*), 1843; II., *The Catechism and other pieces;* III., *Prayers and other pieces* (both 1844). This is a very careful ed. "Selections" (with Life) in *British Reformers* Vol. X. (Relig. Tract Soc.); "Prayers," *Religious Tracts, etc.*, Vol. VI., 1836 (Soc. Prom. Christ. Knowl.). Excellent article *Princetown Review* (American), V. 504 (Dr. Alexander).

BELLENDEN (BALLENDEN or BALLENTYNE), JOHN. fl. 1533—1587. Translator.

Works.—1822.—4°. 3 vols. Edin., ed. Maitland, Ld. Dundrennan.

1. 1536.—Fol. Trans. in Scotch vernacular of "*Historia Scotorum,*" of Hector Boece (1465?-1536). This formed when "englished" by W. Harrison, the "*Description of Scotland,*" in Vol. I., Holinshed, 1577, etc. E. W. viii. 368.
2. 1822.—**Translation of Livy** (the first 5 Bks.)—1st Trans. of a Latin classic in Britain. 1st pr. by Maitland, *supra,* uniform with 1, from MS. in Advocates' Lib., Edin.

BELLINGS, RICHARD. (d. 1677.) Irish Historian.

1629.—A sixth "book" of the *Arcadia.* See *Sidney.*

BEVERLEY, PETER (of Staple Inn). fl. 1565. Translator.

[1565?]—n.d. Sm. 8°. 91 l.—**The Historie of Ariodanto and Ieneura, daughter to the King of Scottes,** *in English verse. By Peter Beuerley.* Licensed 1565. Two copies known. The first Eng. trans. of any portion of Ariosto. E. W. x. 26-7.

BILSON, THOMAS. 1546-7—1616. Bishop of Winchester.

Wood (Bl.) II. 169-171, a good account of life and works, which Grosart (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*) follows closely.

BLENFRHASSET, THOS. 1550 (?)—1625 (?) Poet and Writer on Ireland.

POETRY.

1. 1578.—**The Seconde part of the Mirrour for Magistrates.** 12 legends from the days of Cæsar to William I.; a continuation of the ed. of Higgins, 1559. The 1610 ed. retained 10 of these "*tragedies.*" All are repr. in J. Haslewood's ed. 1815, Vol. I. 345-479; together with an account of the writer in Introd. xxxiv.-v. See *M. for Magistrates.*
2. 1582.—**A Revelation of the true Minerva.** A poem in praise of Elizabeth. Only one copy known.

PROSE.

1610.—**A Direction for the plantation in Ulster** (pamphlet). B. M. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 69-70.

N.B.—An unprinted Trans. of Ovid's *De Remedio Amoris* is lost.

BODENHAM, JOHN. Reputed Editor of *Miscellanies.*

1. 1597.—**Politeuphuia, Wits Commonwealth** (18 ed. up to 1661). A collection of brief extracts from Philosophers, orators, and Church Fathers. For Bodenham's share in the work see E. W. x. 362-3.
2. 1600.—**Belvedere; or, the Garden of the Muses.** (B. M. imperf.) Repr. *Spenser Soc.* 1875, Manchester. 2nd ed. 1610, "Belvedere" being omitted fr. title. (B. M. 2 copies.) A collection of unsigned poetical extracts, single lines, and couplets; all of 10-syll. In the prefatory sonnet, signed A. M. (? Anthony Munday), Bodenham is called "*the first causer and collectour of these floures.*" Bullen (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*) argues that B. was not the "editor." He certainly had help, as the "*Conclusion*" of the work shows. Corser, II. 298-304 (full account); Collier. *Bibl. Cat.* I. 70-1.
3. 1600.—**Englands Helicon** (B. M. imperfect); 2nd ed. 1614, contained 9 additional pieces. Repr. of 1st ed. *Seven Eng. Miscell.* (Collier), 1867; 2nd ed. repr. 1812 (S. E. Brydges and J. Haslewood, with critical Introd.); and 1887 (A. H. Bullen). Halliwell, 1867, pr. *Songs and poems from E. H. which are connected with Shakspeare.* (25 copies; 15 destroyed). Corser I. 304-10; Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 71-3. Bullen (*preface* 1887 *ed.* and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*) maintains that the unknown A. B. who signs the prefatory sonnet and prose epistle is sole editor. This is most probable.

N.B.—For the "Wits Theater," formerly assigned to Bodenham, see *Allott.*

BRADFORD, JOHN. 1510?—1555. Protestant Martyr.

Athen. Cantab. I. 127-9 (full, with list of writings and authorities). *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* which follows this, also good. *Bibl.*

Brit. (Tanner). *Memoirs of Life and Martyrdom of J. B.* 1832. (Wm. Stevens.) E. W. viii. 164.

COMPLETE WORKS.—*Parker Soc.* 1848-53. 2 vols. (ed. Rev. Aubrey Townsend, with life; very careful). Select works in *Select British Divines* Vol. XXII. (C. Bradley); and *British Reformers* Vol. VI. (Relig. Tract Soc.).

BRETON, NICHOLAS. 1545?—1626? Poet, Pamphleteer.

WORKS.—Ed. Grosart (with excellent Introduction), 2 vols.; Vol. I., Poetry (not including Nos. 1, 8, 14—which are in the Britwell Collection—or No. 12); Vol. II., Prose. Grosart, 1893, has issued *A Bower of Delights. Verse and prose from Nicholas Breton.* Bullen has poems by N. Breton, in his *Poems Chiefly Lyrical of the Elizabethan Age.*

Grosart's "Introduction" to the Works is the best piece of original work on Breton. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (S. L. Lee); a careful article—with several misprints in the spelling of names of works—founded on Grosart's work. Corser III. 5-93 (describes Prose—1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21; Verse—2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 13, 17, 20; besides 8 doubtful works). He needs to be checked by later work; see *infra* under "Attributed to." Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 78-88. Hunter's *Chorus Vatum.* (Addit. MS. 24487 ff. 307, etc., and 24445 f. 49. B. M.)

POETRY.

1. 1577.—**The Workes of a young Wyt.** Britwell, unique. G. Ellis pr. 2 poems from it in his *Specimens of Early Eng. Poets* II., 3rd ed. 1803, pp. 270-8. W. C. Hazlitt repr. *The Letter Dedicatorie* in his *Book of Prefaces*, 1874. Grosart pr. what he calls "Gleanings," the complete work being inaccessible.
2. 1577.—**A Floorish vpon Fancie.** Britwell, unique. 1582 ed. inaccurately repr. in Park's *Heliconia*, 1815.
3. 1592.—**The Pilgrimage to Paradise.** B. M. and Britwell.
4. 1595.—**A Solemne Passion of the Soules Love.** Repr. 1598; 1623 (B. M.) See p. 352, B. 2.
5. 1626—**Pasqvils Mad-cappe.** B. M. Ent. *Stat. Reg.* Mar. 20, 1599-1600; again 1605. Collier I. 85-6 describes the 1600 edition.
6. 1600.—**Pasqvils Fooles-cap.** Bodl. unique. Ent. *Stat. Reg.* May 10, 1600.
7. 1600.—**Pasqvils Passe, and passeth not.** B. M. Ent. *Stat. Reg.* May 29, 1600.
8. 1600.—**Pasqvils Mistresse**; *or, the Worthie and Vnworthy Woman.* Britwell, unique.
9. 1600.—**Melancholike Humours.** Bodl., Huth, and Marsh Lib. (Dublin). Repr. 1815. *Lee Priory Press.* S. E. Brydges, 86 copies; a number of mistakes.

10. 1601.—**The Longing of a Blessed Heart.** B. M. and Huth Lib. Repr. *Lee Priory Press*, 1814. 100 copies.
11. 1601.—**The Ravisht Soule, and the Blessed Weeper.** Huth Lib. and Dr. Grosart. Repr. *Excerpta Tudoriana.*
12. 1601.—**The Soules Heavenly Exercise.** (Prose and verse); mentioned *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* sub. num. 13 as being in private hands; hitherto unknown.
13. 1602.—**The Mothers blessing.** Bodl. copy, imperf. Isham Lib. perf., unique.
14. 1602.—**Olde Madcapps newe Gallymawfrey.** Britwell, unique.
15. 1602.—**The Soules Harmony.** B. M. Huth Lib. has 9th ed., 1635, unique. All other ed. lost.
16. 1604.—**The Passionate Shepheard.** Unique copy, Fred Ouvry, Esq., Pres. Soc. Antiquaries, who had 50 copies struck 1877. See p. 352, A. 4.
17. 1605.—**The Soules immortall crowne.** Bodl. (Malone). MS. in B. M. (Royal MS. 18 A. lvii.)
18. 1602.—**A Trve Description of vnthankfulnesse.** Bodl. Tanner, unique.
19. 1605.—**The Honovr of Valovr.** Huth Lib., unique.
20. 1614.—**I wovld and wovld not.** Bodl., unique. "*To the Reader*" is signed B. N. [i.e. N. B(reton), reversed]. See Grosart's Introduction.
21. 1616.—**An Invective against Treason.** No copy known of this ed. Grosart pr. from Author's MS. (Royal MSS. 17 C. xxxiv. B. M.)
22. —5 Pieces in *Phœnix Nest*, 1593, signed "N. B., Gent"; and 8 in *England's Helicon*, 1600, signed N. Breton. All are repr. by Grosart.
23. 1853 and '62.—**The Countesse of Penbrooks Passion.** 1st pr. Halliwell, 1853, in his *Brief description of the Plymouth MSS.* pp. 177-210. Repr. 1862, from Sloane MS. 1303 B. M., when it was attributed to Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke. Full history in Grosart. Short account Dict. of Nat. Biog., sub. num. 4.
24. 1879.—Grosart printed 33 short pieces from MS., then in poss. of F. W. Cosens, Esq., London, but now in B. M. (some of these had appeared in the *Arbor of Amorous Deuices*); and 5 poems from Tanner MS. (Bodl.); also 22 lines from *The Sculler*, 1612, by Taylor, the "Water Poet."

N.B.—Some songs set to music in Morley's *New Book of Tablature*, 1596; and Dowland's *Third Bk. of Songs*, 1603, have been ascribed to Breton. See Collier, "*Lyrical poems*," Percy Soc. 1844.

PROSE.

1. 1597.—**Auspicante Jehoua.** Camb. Univ. Lib.
2. 1597.—**Wits Trenchmour** (*i.e.* "a boisterous dance to a lively tune in triple time." Halliwell). Huth Lib., unique.
3. 1599.—**Wil of Wit, &c., &c.** (see Hazlitt, *Handbook*, for full

title), "containing 5 discourses." Repub. 1606; and Repr. 1860, 26 copies by Halliwell. B. M., unique.

4. 1600.—**Strange Fortunes of two excellent Princes** (a story from Italian). Bodl., unique.
5. 1636.—**Figvre of Fovre.** (Bodl., unique. Pt. II. only.) Ent. *Stat. Reg.* 1597 and 1607. Ames notices an ed. of 1631 (unknown). B. M. has 1654 ed.
6. 1602.—**Wonders worth the hearing** (quaint descriptions of Elizabethan manners). B. M., unique.
7. 1603.—**A Poste with a Packet of Mad Letters.** (2 Bks. 86 letters in I.; 67 in II.) Copy in Advocates' Lib., Edin. Frequent ed. up to 1685.
8. 1603.—**A Merrie Dialogve betwixt the Taker and the Mistaker.**—B. M. Repr. 1635. Bodl.
9. 1603.—**A Dialogue full of pithe and pleasure.** B. M. and Dr. Grosart's Lib.
10. 1604.—**Grimellos Fortunes.** 2 cop. Bodl.; 1 in Huth Lib.; 1 Camb.; and 1 B. M.
11. 1605.—**An olde Mans Lesson: and a Yovng Mans loue.** Huth Lib. and Dublin. Hazlitt, *Handbook*, wrongly says that Br. was only *editor*.
12. 1605 and 1624.—**I Pray you be not Angrie.** Both ed. Bodl.
13. 1607.—**A Murmurer.** Bridgewater House and B. M. (The only 2 copies known; Grosart.)
14. 1608.—**Divine Considerations of the Soule.** B. M. only copy now known.
15. 1612.—**Wits Private Wealth.** B. M. (A collection of proverbial sayings.) Repr. 1615, 1639.
16. 1615.—**Characters vpon Essaies, Morall and Diuine.** B. M., supposed unique. Repr. *Archaica*, Vol. I. 1815 (S. E. Brydges).
17. 1616.—**Crossing of Proverbs.** B. M., imperf. (Proverbs quoted, and others modifying their application, then stated.) See Hazlitt, *Handbook*.
18. 1616.—**The Good and the Badde.** B. M. Huth Lib. has the abridged ed. (issued in 1643), called "Englands selected Characters, describing the good and bad Worthies of this Age"; the 50 orig. "characters" being reduced to 28. Address signed B. N. (i.e. N. B., reversed). Corser III. 72-3.
19. 1618.—**The Court and Country, or, A Briefe Discourse betweene the Courtier and Country-man.** Britwell Collection, unique perfect copy. Bodl. imperf. Repr. in *Inedited Tracts*, 1868 (ed. W. C. Hazlitt).
20. 1622.—**Strange Newes ovt of Divers Covntries.** B. M., unique. ("To the Reader" is signed "B. N.")
21. 1626.—**Fantasticks.** Huth Lib. and Dr. Grosart.
22. 1879.—**Character of Queen Elizabeth.** 1st pr. by Grosart, from Harl. MS. 6207, ff. 14-22. (Br.'s autograph MS.)

Attributed to Breton—

A. With reason.

1. 1591.—**Brytons Bowre of Delights** (ent. *Stat. Reg.* May 3, 1591). Britwell, unique. Disowned by Breton in Epistle (Apr. 12, 1592) before his *Pilgrimage to Paradise*. It does contain "a few of mine," he allows. Grosart prints from Rawlinson MS. Poet 85, fol. 23, **The Amoris Lachrimæ** (on death of Sir Ph. Sidney), wh. Breton acknowledged as his. The MS. also assigns it to him. (*Verse.*)
2. 1597.—**Arbor of Amorous Deuices** (Capell Collection, Camb., unique), a collection by Rich. Jones, the printer. Repr. by Grosart, Vol. I. *Specimens of the Early Eng. Poets* (G. Ellis), 1803, II. 286-8, contains one poem from this. **Brittons Diuinitie** alone is undoubtedly by Breton. (*Verse.*)
3. 1601.—8vo.—**No Whippinge** (given in B. M. Cat. as by N. B.?) fully described by Grosart, Introd. xxxi.—xxxvii., who says it is by Breton. (*Verse.*)
4. 1604.—**The Passionate Shepherd**. Ascribed by Collier I. p. 78. Dedication is signed "Bonerto" (an anagram for *Bretono;* an old MS. note assigns it thus to Breton). (*Verse*).
5. 1605.—**Honest Counsaile**, *a Merrie Fitte of a Poeticall Furie, etc.*, "by N.B., i.e. Nicholas Breton" (B. M. Cat.). Grosart following Hazlitt describes this as "lost." (*Verse.*)
6. 1606.—**Choice, Chance, and Change**; *or, Conceits in their Colours*. Anon. Attrib. in B. M. Cat. Grosart states that internal evidence is very strong. (*Prose.*)
7. 1606.—pp. 24.—**Praise of Vertuous Ladies**. See Corser III. 61-2. Both addresses at beginning are signed *N. Breton;* at end, "*N. G., Gent*," is an evident misprint (Corser). Repr. *Lee Priory Press*, 1815. 80 copies. (*Prose.*)

B. Other works attributed to Breton—

1. 1575.—**A small handful of fragrant Flowers**, "by N. B." (no other evidence). Attrib. by Corser III. 5-7; and Repr. by Park, *Heliconia* I. 1815, as by Breton. It is not his, (Grosart; who suggests Nathaniel Baxter?) (*Verse.*)
2. 1595.—**Marie Magdalens Love** (Corser III. 15-7) is simply a prose comment on John xx. 1-18, bound up with No. 4, p. 349 *supra;* this is in 83 6-line stanzas, signed *Nicholas Britten*. Repr. separately 1598 and 1623. (*Verse.*)
3. 1612 (first known ed., but prob. printed *ante* 1600).—**Cornv-Copiæ, Pasquils Night Cap**. First ascribed by Collier, *Poet. Decam.* I. 329 (had previously been given to Sam. Rowlands); also by Corser; in Huth Cat.; and by Hazlitt, *Handbook*. Repr. Grosart, *Occas. Issues*, Vol. V., together with **Pasquils Palinodia** (described by Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 128-32, as by an unknown author). Grosart, Introd. xxx., quotes Arber's *Stat. Reg.* III. p. 644, entry Apr. 6, 1619, to show this is by "William F." He attributes both to the same author. (*Verse.*)
4. 1601.—**The Passion of a Discontented Mind**. Huth Lib.,

unique; 1602, Bodl. etc. Repr. Collier, *Illustrat. of Old Eng. Lit.* I. 1866. Has no name, no initials, and none of the marks of Breton's work (Grosart). Described by Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 87, who doubted it; and Corser III. 42-5, who attributes simply on the ground of style. It is now removed from Breton's name in B. M. Cat., and placed under "Passion." It has been ascribed to Southwell. (*Verse.*)

5. 1604.—**Mary Magdalens Lamentations** *for the Losse of her Maister Jesus.* Now removed in B. M. Cat., and stands under "W. F.," the initials subscribed to the address *Ad Autorem.* Also under "Mary Magdalen," where it is attributed to Gervase Markham (?) (*Verse.*)
6. 1604.—**The Case is altered. How? Aske Dalio and Millo.** B. M. Ascribed by Corser III. 73-6. Initials at end of address are "F. T." Collier suggested Francis Thynne. Certainly not by Breton. (*Prose.*)
7. 1606.—**Sir Philip Sidneys Ourania,** "by N. B.," is by Nathaniel Baxter, as proved by Jos. Hunter, *New Illustrat. of Shaks.* 1845, I. 354-5 note. See Corser II. 216-23. Never reprinted. (*Verse.*)
8. 1607.—**Barley Breake**; *or, a Warning for Wantons.* "Written by W. N., Gent." Assigned by Corser III. 62-4, who is "very doubtful." It is not Breton's (Grosart; who repr. it in *Occas. Issues*). (*Verse.*)
9. [1606?] n.d.—**The Scholler and the Souldier.** pp. 30. Prose tract bound up with one ed. of the *Wil of Wit*, without date on the title-page, but stated there to be "written by the saide author N. B., Gentleman." (*Prose.*)

Lost Works.—**Payne and Pleasur** (ent. *Stat. Reg.* Sept. 9, 1578), **Nay then** (ent. July 5, 1622); and a booke called **Nothinge** (Aug. 9, 1622).

BRIDGES, Dr. JOHN. d. 1618. Poet, Divine, and Controversialist.

Translations.

1. 1572.—175 *Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles*, from the Latin of Rudolph Walthers. B. M.
2. 1604.—*Sacrosanctum Novum Testamentum . . . in hexametros versus translatum.* B. M.

Controversial Works.

1. 1573.—*The Supremacie of Christian Princes ouer all Persons throughout their Dominions.* A reply to two R. Cath. works.
2. 1587.—4°. pp. 1412.—**A Defence of the Government established in the Church of England.** B. M. A reply to Th. Cartwright's *Discourse*, and to Beza's *Judgment*; and the immediate cause of the *Marprelate Controversy*, q.v.

BROKE (BROOKE), ARTHUR. d. 1563. Translator.

1562, Nov. 19.—**The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Iuliet.** Over 3,000 lines of rhymed verse; 12 and 14-syll., alternate. (2 copies known; Bodl. (Malone), and Cambridge). Repr. 1587; and 1780 in *Supplement to Shakespeare* (Malone); 1821, Shak. *Variorum edition;* 1843, *School of Shakespeare* (Collier); 1874, *School of Shakespeare* (Hazlitt); 1875, New Shak. Soc. *Originals and Analogues*, Pt. I. (P. A. Daniel). E. W. viii. 287, and x. 221-2.

1563.—**The agreement of sundry places of Scripture, &c.** Trans. out of French. (B. M.)

BROWNE, WILLIAM. 1590—1645? Poet.

WORKS.—**Whole works now first collected,** 1868, 2 vols. *Roxburghe Lib.* (memoir and notes, W. C. Hazlitt). 1894, 2 vol. *Muses Library* (ed. Goodwin; Introd. by A. H. Bullen) gives 3 poems from MS., not in Hazlitt. In 1772 Th. Davies pub. the first collected ed. (very incorrect; see *Chalmers' Poets*, vi. p. 226). Chalmers and Anderson reprinted this with corrections. They did not include 2c. nor 4 and 5.

POEMS.

1. 1613.—**Two Elegies consecrated to the never dying memory of . . . . Pr. Henry.** One by Br., and the other by Christopher Brooke. Altered and reproduced in 2a, Song V.
2. **Britannia's Pastorals.**

(*a*) 1613.—Fol., **Bk. I.** (issued n.d.; but *Address to Reader* is dated June 18, 1613). B. M.

(*b*) 1616.—Fol., **Bk. II.**; copies of Bk. I. being bound up with it. B. M. Reissued 1625 (B. M.); and in 1772 by Davies; and from him by Chalmers and Anderson. Southey, "*Select poets*," 1831; Rev. W. Thompson, 1845, with notes.
N.B.—In Huth Lib. is a copy with marginal notes by Milton; see *Huth Catalogue* I. p. 230, and Hazlitt's ed. Introd. pp. xx-xxiv.

(*c*) 1852.—8vo. **Bk. III.** *Percy Soc.* Vol. XXX. (T. Crofton Croker), from MS. in Salisbury Cathedral Lib., found by Beriah Botfield (author of *Cathedral Libraries*). Repr. Hazlitt, 1868-9; and Goodwin-Bullen, 1894. (This MS. is bound up at the end of a folio ed. of Bks. I. and II.)

3. 1614.—8vo.—**The Shepheards Pipe.** 7 eclogues; followed by 3 addressed to Browne by Chris. Brooke, Geo. Wither, and John Davies (of Hereford).
4. 1772.—*The Inner Temple Masque*, acted Jan. 13, 1614-15, at Whitehall. 1st printed from MS. by Davies, and in all later ed.
5. 1815.—*Original poems never before printed* (ed. S. E. Brydges,

from Lansdowne MS. 777. B. M.). A collection of poems dated 1650. Repr. Hazlitt, 1869.

6. 1894.—Goodwin and Bullen add 3 other poems from the 2 leaves preceding the Salisbury MS. of 2c.

N.B.—1647.—**The History of Polexander.** *Done into English by Wm. Browne, Gent., For the Rt. Hon. Philip Earle of Pembroke*, etc. (a trans. from the French of M. le Roy, Sieur de Gomberville), *may* be by this Wm. Browne.

BROWNSWERD, JOHN. 1540?—1589. Latin Poet.

Wood (Bl.) I. 552. *Athen. Cantab.* II. 45. Tanner, p. 131.
1589 4°. (and 1590).—*Progymnasmata quaedam Poetica, &c.* Full title E. W. x. 366.

BRYAN, SIR FRANCIS. d. 1550. Poet, Translator, Diplomatist, Soldier.

Wood (Bl.) I. 169-70. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* VII. 150-2; excellent notice (S. L. Lee). A number of his letters in *Letters and Papers of the Reign of H. VIII.* (Brewer and Gairdner).
1548.—**A Dispraise of the Life of a Courtier, &c.** A trans. from a French version of the Spanish of Guevara. Repr. 1575 as **A Looking-glasse for the Courte.** Full titles of both E. W. VIII. 37-8.
1557.—Anon. contributor to *Tottel's Miscellany.* (Work indistinguishable.)

BRYSKETT, LODOWICK (OR LEWIS). fl. 1571—1611. Poet, Translator, Irish Official.

POETRY.

1595.—(With Spenser's *Colin Clout*), two elegies: **The Mourning Muse of Thestylis,** and **A pastorall Æclogue.** Signed L. B. Not pub. separately, as far as is known. Repr. in editions of Spenser's poems; e.g. *Globe* (Prof. Hales), 563—567. E. W. ix. 442-3.

PROSE TRANSLATION.

1606.—4°. pp. 279 (wr. *circa*, 1586).—**A Discourse of Civill Life.** Trans. from Italian of Baptista Giraldo. B. M., 2 copies. (Notable for the *Preface*, which speaks of the *Faerie Queene.*) See E. W. ix. 108-114; *Globe* "Spenser," pp. xxxii.-iv. etc.

BURTON, WM. 1575—1645. Topographer.

Wood (Bl.) I. 200 (under *Leland*); III. 153-6. Oldys, *British Librarian* (1737), 287-299. E. W. viii. 110.

1. 1602.—Corrected copy of Saxton's *Map of Leicestershire.*
2. 1622.—Folio. **Description of Leicestershire.** B. M.

CAMDEN, WM. 1551—1623. Antiquary.

LIFE.—**Memorabilia de seipso**; pr. in Th. Smith's *Camdeni Epistolae*, 1691. *Camdeni Vita*, Smith, 1691. "Lives," in ed. of **Britannia**, by Richard Gough (1789); and Edmund Gibson, 1695. *Biog. Brit.* (Kippis) III. 153-175. Wood (Bl.) II. 339-350.

WORKS.

1.—**Britannia.** 1586, 1587, 1590 (all 8°); 1594, 1600 (both 4°); 1607 fol. *Translations*, Philemon Holland, 1610, 1637; Edmund Gibson, 1695 fol.; 2nd ed. 1722, 2 vols. fol.; repr. 1753 and 1772; 1789 with large additions, 3 vols. fol. (Rich. Gough); 2nd ed. 1806, 4 vols.

2.—**Annales**, 1615 fol., London, Pt. I. (from the years 1558-1588); 1627, London, Pt. II. (1589-1603) with appendix, uniform with Pt. I. In 1625, '39, and '77 both parts together, Leyden. Best ed. 1717, 3 vols. (Hearne), from a copy corrected by Camden himself. *Translations:* 1625, 4°, Pt. I. by Abraham Darcie, from a French translation; 1625, 4°, Pt. II. by Thos. Browne; 1635, whole work, R. N[orton ?]: 1675; 1688.

3.—**Letters.** 1691. (Dr. Thos. Smith); and *Camden Soc.* 1843.

4.—1771. Hearne's *Collection of Curious Discourses* contains some short papers on heraldic and antiquarian subjects.

CAMPION, EDMUND. 1540—81. Jesuit.

Latest and best *Life*, Rich. Simpson, 1867, 8°, Lond. (Pp. 346; with Appendix 347-59, containing full bibliography. In Appendix IV. list of 37 other *Lives;* App. V. 355-8, list of works.)

1.—**Decem Rationes, et alia opuscula selecta** (against Protestants). 1st ed. Stonor Park, 1581. Edit. followed all over Europe—Italy, France, Germany, Poland, Holland, etc. Best ed. by P. Silvester Petra-Sancta, 1631. Antwerp, 12°, pp. 460.

2.—**History of Ireland**, wr. 1569, first pr. by Rich. Stanihurst in *Holinshed*, 1587; then by Sir James Ware, *Hist. of Ireland*, 1633. Repr. 1809 in *Ancient Irish History*, Vol. I. (MS. copy dated 1571 at College of Arms, London.)

CAMPION, THOS., M.D. d. 1619. Doctor, Poet, Musician.

WORKS.—First collected 1889, A. H. Bullen, *Chiswick Press* (does not include "Prose ii." *infra*); Introd. vii.-xxv. Grove, *Dict. of Musicians* I. 301 (incorrect in some details).

POEMS.

A. Latin.

1. 1595.—**Thomae Campiani Poemata.** His 1st work; no copy known. Repr. 1619 in two Books as **T. Campiani Epi-**

grammatum libri II., Vmbra. Elegiarum liber unus. Bk. I. being wholly new; Bk. II. reprints 1595 ed. B. M.

B. English.

(*a*) Songs.

1. 1601 fol.—**A Booke of Ayres**: songs and music. All songs probably by T. C.; Ph. Rosseter helped with the music.
2. [1613?] Fol. n.d., but after 1612, as 6th poem refers to death of Pr. Henry, Nov. 1612.—**Two Bookes of Ayres**, being songs and their accompaniments.
3. [1617?] n.d. fol.—**The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres.**
4. 1613 fol.—**Songs of Mourning: Bewailing the untimely death of Pr. Henry.** A small collection. Music by John Cooper; (called on title-page John Coprario.)
5. Scattered verses. One poem in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody;* 8 *commendatory verses* in various works.

(*b*) Masques.

1. 1607.—A masque acted at Whitehall Twelfth Night, 1606-7, for the marriage of Sir Jas. Hay. B. M.
2. 1613.—Masque for "the late Royal Entertainment," by Ld. Knowles, at Cawsome House, near Reading. B. M.
3. **The Lord's Masque**, for the marriage of the Count Palatine and Pr. Elizabeth, given on the wedding night, Sunday, Feb. 14, 1612-3. Pr. in Nichol's *Progresses* II. 622. (See *Chapman* and *Beaumont.*)
4. 1614.—Masque Dec. 26, 1613, at Whitehall, for marr. of Carr, E. of Somerset, and Lady Fr. Howard. (See Chapman, *Androm. Liberata.*) B. M.

Prose.

i. 1602.—**Observations in the Art of English Poesie.** B. M. Wr. against Rhyme; vide *Daniel;* and E. W. x. 325-9.

ii. [1613?]—**A new Way of making foure parts in Counterpoint.**

CAREW, RICHARD. 1555—1620. Poet, Translator, Antiquary. Wood (Bl.) II. 284-7.

Verse.

1. 1594.—Translation of Tasso's **Godfrey of Bvlloigne**; 5 cantos. B. M. His first work, and the first trans. from T. (vide *Fairfax.*) Repr. Grosart, 1881. 62 cop. (*Occas. Issues.*) Bk. IV. is given in Singer's ed. of *Fairfax*, 1817, Vol. I. p. xxxiii.-lvii. See *Retrospective Review* III. 32-50; *Anglia* xi. 333—41; and Corser iii. 242.
2. 1598.—**A Herrings Tayle**; *containing a poeticall fiction, &c.* Pub. anon. 4° 18 l. B. M. and Bodl. (Malone).

Prose.

i. 1594.—**Examen de Ingeniis. The Examination of Mens Wits.** A trans. of an Italian trans. of a Spanish work by J. Huarte. Repr. 1596, 1604, 1616.

ii. 1602.—**A Survey of Cornwall.** B. M. Repr. 1723 (with a *Life.*) 1769 and 1811 (with notes).

iii. 1605.—In Camden's *Remains* **An Epistle concerning the excellencies of the English tongue.** Repr. in 1723 and 1769 with ii.

CAVENDISH, GEO. 1500—1561? Biographer.

Life of Wolsey (wr. 1554-1557). Extracts given in Stowe's *Annals.* First printed 1641 (a garbled text for party purposes). Repr. 1667 and 1706, and *Harl. Miscel.* 1744-6; also incorporated by Grove into his *Hist. of Life and Times of Card. Wolsey,* 1742-4. Correct text issued by him (from the MS.), 1761. 1810 pr. by Dr. Chr. Wordsworth (*Ecclesiastical Biography*) from two MSS. at Lambeth. 1815 and 1827 more thoroughly (S. W. Singer); 1885, *Universal Library* (Prof. Morley). See the Preface to this for history of the Book.

CHAPMAN, GEORGE. 1559?—1634. Poet, Translator, Dramatist.

Wood (Bl.) II. 575-581. Ward, *Dram. Poet* II. 1-36. Swinburne's "Essay," *infra.* C. Lamb's *Specimens.* S. T. Coleridge's *Literary Remains* I. 259-63. Rev. Rich. Hooper's *Introduction* to the Homer, *infra. Anglia* v. 295—356. Matthew Arnold *On Translating Homer.* 1861.

WORKS.—1874-5.—3 vols. (ed. R. H. Shepherd); Vol. I., plays; II., poems; III., Homer. Vol. II. contains Swinburne's *Essay on Chapman* (pub. separately, 1875). 1873, **The Comedies and Tragedies of G. C., now first collected,** with Life, pp. v-xliv: and facsimiles of orig. title-pages.

A. POEMS.

1. 1594.—Σκια νυκτὸς. **The Shadow of Night.** B. M.
2. 1595.—**Ouid's Banquet of Sence** (see Trans. B.): **A Coronet for his Mistresse Philosophie** (10 sonnets) and his **Amorous Zodiacke** (30 6-line verses): with a "trans. of a Latine coppie written by a Fryer, A.D. 1400," *i.e.* **The Amourous Contention of Phillis and Flora** (101 4-line verses).
3. 1596.—**De Guiana,** 184 lines prefixed to *A Relation of the second voyage to Guiana,* by Lawrence Keymis. (Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 427—30.)
4. 1609.—**Euthymiae Raptus; or, The Teares of Peace.** B. M.
5. 1612.—**Petrarchs Seven Penitentiall Psalmes: with other Philosophicall Poems** (26, and 4 fragments), and **a Hymne to Christ upon the Crosse.**
6. 1612.—**An Epicede; or, Funerall Song** on the death of Pr. Henry. B. M. Repr. 1818, *Lee Priory Press,* S. E. Brydges.
7. 1614.—**Andromeda Liberata; or, The Nuptials of Perseus**

and Andromeda, on the marr. of Robt. Carr and Lady Fr. Howard. B. M. This was followed by **A Free and Offenceles Iustification.** 1614. See E. W. xi. 305.

8. 1614.—**Eugenia; or, Trve Nobilities Trance,** on the death of Lord Wm. Russell, in 4 "vigils."
9. 1622.—**Pro Vere Autumni Lachrymae;** 101 lines on Sir Horace Vere, "besieged and distrest in Mainhem" during 30 years' war.
10. 1629.—**A Justification of a Strange Action of Nero** (prose, very brief; followed by a trans. (see B.) of **Juvenal Satire V.,** verse.) B. M.
11. —Scattered verses. 1. 14 lines *To the Author of Nennio,* 1595. 2. **Peristeros; or, the Male Turtle,** 26 lines in *The Phoenix and Turtle,* 1601. 3, 4. Lines before Jonson's *Sejanus,* 1605, and *Volpone,* 1607. 5. 10 lines before Nat. Field's *A woman is a weathercock,* 1612. 6. Lines on Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess,* 2nd ed. 7, 8. Anagrams of 14 lines on Pr. Henry and Queen Anne. 9. **An Invective against Ben Jonson,** 197 lines, incomplete. (Pr. Works II. p. 432-4 from *Ashmole* MS. Bodl.)

B. Translations (very free in character).

1. Ovid. 1595.—**The Banquet of Sence.** E. W. x. 468-9.
2. Musaeus. 1598.—Completion of Marlowe's **Hero and Leander.**
3. Homer. E. W. xi. 306-8.
   - (*a*) 1598.—**Seaven Bookes of the Iliades.** Bks. 1, 2, and 7-11.
   - (*b*) 1598.—**Achilles Shield,** from Bk. 18. (164 lines 10-syl. rhyme to *M. Harriots* are appended.)
   - (*c*) [1609] n.d.—**Homer, Prince of Poets, translated . . . in 12 bookes of his Iliads.** (Contains 3*a* and 5 added Bks.; verse dedication to Pr. Henry.)
   - (*d*) [1611] n.d.—**The Iliads of Homer, Prince of Poets** (complete). Verses *To the Reader* prefixed, and 22 sonnets to various nobles at end.
   - (*e*) 1614.—**24 Bookes of Homers Odysses,** ded. to R. Carr, E. of Somerset; other verses at end of vol.
   - (*f*) 1616.—**The Whole Works of Homer, Prince of Poets, in his Iliads and Odysses.**
   - (*g*) [1624 *circa*].—**The Crowne of all Homers Workes.** *Battle of Frogs and Mice,* the 32 *Hymns,* and 16 *Epigrams.* Verse epistle dedic. to Somerset, and a postscript at end of vol.

     N.B.—Rev. Rich. Hooper's ed. 1857, 5 vols., has excellent Introductions. The "Homer" is in Vol. III. of Works, 1874 *supra;* in *Library of Old Authors;* and in cheap form Morley's *Universal Lib.,* 1883.
4. Hesiod. 1618.—**The Georgicks of Hesiod,** "translated elaborately." At the end was the *Book of Days.*
5. Juvenal. 1629.—**Satire V.** (See A. 10 *supra.*)

C. DRAMA.—18 or 20 plays. (*a*) 15 alone; (*b*) 3 with others; (*c*) 2 doubtful.

(*a*) Works produced alone. (Spelling modernised.)

I. 7 Comedies. Only one early edition known. All in B. M.

1. 1598.—**The Blind Beggar of Alexandria.**
2. 1599.—**An humorous day's mirth.**
3. 1605.—**All Fools.** E. W. xi. 299.
4. 1606.—**The Gentleman Usher.**
5. 1606.—**Monsieur d'Olive.**
6. 1611.—**May-day.**
7. 1612.—**The Widow's tears.**

II. 7 Tragedies. One ed. only, except of 1, 3, and 4. All in B. M.

1. 1607 and '41.—**Bussy d'Ambois.** 1641 ed. "much corrected and amended." E. W. xi. pp. 300-3.
2. 1613.—**The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois.** E. W. xi. p. 304.

3 and 4. 1608 and 1625.—**The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles, Duke of Byron. Acted lately in two plays.** The "Conspiracy" and "Tragedy" really form one whole in 10 acts. 2nd ed. 1625.

5. 1631.—**Caesar and Pompey.** (B. M. Cat. inserts *The Tragedie of Caesar and Pompey, or Caesars Revenge. Privately acted by the Studentes of Trinity College in Oxford*, 1607, under "Chapman." This is quite unwarranted: the play is anonymous, and differs wholly from that of Chapman, who implies that his was never acted. See *Dedication* to E. of Middlesex.) N.B.—This is now removed.
6. 1654.—**Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany.** Excellent ed. by S. Karl Elze, 1867, Leipzig, with Introd. and Notes (in English). E. W. xi. p. 303.
7. 1654.—**Revenge for honour.**

III. Masque. B. M.

[1613?]—**The Maak of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn.**

Acted Feb. 15, 1613, for marriage of Princess Elizabeth ("hymn" to her, at end). See *Beaumont* and *Campion*, who also wrote for this occasion.

(*b*) Works produced with others. One ed. only. All in B. M.

I. 2 Comedies.

1. 1605.—**Eastward ho!** With Ben Jonson and J. Marston.
2. 1639 (licensed 1632).—**The Ball.** With J. Shirley.

II. Tragedy.

1639 (licensed 1635).—**The Tragedy of Philip Chabot, Admiral of France.** With Shirley.

(*c*) Attributed to Ch. (pr. at end of Vol. II. of Shepherd's ed. 1875).

1. **Two wise men and all the rest fools.** pr. 1619. B. M. Enumerated among Chapman's writings by Winstanley, 1687, and Langbaine, 1691.
2. **The Second Maidens Tragedy.** 1st pr. 1824. (*Lansdowne* MS. in B. M. has Chapman's name scored through, and replaced by that of Shakespeare (!); see Shepherd's ed. II. p. 345.)

CHESTER, ROBERT. 1566?—1640? Poet.

EMS.—1878.—8° (50 copies), ed. Grosart, pp. lxxxiv. 187, with notes; same ed., except for title-page, issued to *New Shak. Soc.* 1878.

1601.—4° 95 l.—**Loves Martyr; or, Rosalins Complaint.** Two copies known (Britwell and Mr. W. Tite). E. W. x. 489-90. (On the latter page is the full title of the second portion of the book, which has a sep. title-page.) Detailed account Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 99-100. 1865 Mr. Halliwell published *Some account of R. C.'s Love's Martyr*, pp. 34, with facsimile of title-page, and of Shakespeare's poem on the Phœnix and Turtle. 25 copies were struck, of which 10 were preserved. B. M. has "No. 10."

1611.—Reissued as **The Anuals** (*sic*) **of great Brittaine.** B. M. (unique). Full description Corser—to whom the B. M. copy formerly belonged—IV. 339-349.

CHETTLE, HENRY. 1564-5?—1607? Dramatist and Prose Writer.

ict. of Nat. Biog. X. 207-10 (Bullen; see Note *infra*) C. M. Ingleby's Introduction to "Kind Heart's Dream," *Shakespeare Allusion Bks.*, Pt. I., 1874, pp. ix-xiii, tells all that is known of Chettle. Collier, *Eng. Dram.* III. 50-60, contains *inter alia* a full account of "Hoffman."

RAMA.

(*a*) Written alone—

1631.—**The Tragedy of Hoffman; or, a Revenge for a Father.** Repr. 1852 by H. B(arrett) L(eonard), with Introduction, and an attempt to reconstruct the text from this solitary corrupt 4°.

(*b*) Written with others—

1. 1601.—**The Downfall of Robert E. of Huntingdon.** By A. Munday, revised by Chettle. Repr. Collier's *Supplement to Dodsley*, 1828; and Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, 1874, viii., with introduction, chiefly dealing with Munday.
2. 1601.—**The Death of Rob. E. of Huntingdon.** With A. Munday. Repr. Collier's *Supplement;* and Hazlitt's *Dodsley* viii., with a very incorrect introduction.
3. 1603.—**The Pleasant Comedie of Patient Grissil.** With T. Dekker and W. Haughton. Repr. *Shakspeare Soc.* 1841; in Dekker's *Dramatic Works*, 1873; and at end of Vol. V. of Grosart's *Non-dramatic Works of Dekker*, 1884. See also—*Erlanger Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie*, Heft 15, 1893, 8°.
4. 1659.—**The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green.** With J. Day. Repr. *Works of John Day*, ed. Bullen, 1880.

I.B.—No perfectly accurate list of Chettle's unpub. plays (mentioned

by Henslowe) has yet been printed. Bullen, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, is the most correct. He, however, reckons "Cardinal Wolsey" (Pts. I. and II.) three times (No. 8 of works produced alone; and Nos. 26 and 27 of works produced with others) instead of twice; and omits *Like quits Like* (*Diary*, p. 230). He usually gives the date of the first entry, but for *Agamemnon* and *Patient Grissil* he gives the last. Henslowe mentions, or seemingly refers to, 53 plays between Feb. 25, 1598, and May 9, 1603. Only the above four survive.

PROSE.

[1593] n.d.; Ent. *Stat. Reg.* Dec. 1592.—**Kind-Harts Dreame.** Repr. 1842 *Percy Soc.* (ed. E. F. Rimbault), good Introduction; *New Shak. Soc.* in "Shak. Allusion Books," Pt. I. 1874 (ed. C. M. Ingleby).

ii. 1595.—**Pierce Plainnes Seaven Yeres Prenticeship.** (Bodl. prob. unique.)

iii. 1603.—**Englandes Mourning Garment.** B. M. Repr. *Harl. Miscell.* Vol. III; *Sh. Allusion Bks.* Pt. I., see Introd. xiii-xxi. The pamphlet contains 3 poems: the 2nd has 78 lines; 31-36 of which are supposed to refer to Shakespeare. N.B —Very doubtfully attributed to Chettle by Ritson, *Bibliog. Poetica*, p. 159 (as being signed "H. C."), 1578, *The Pope's Pitifull Lamentation*; 1579, *A doleful ditty or sorrowful Sonet of the Lord Darley*; 1579, *The Forest of Fancy*. (In 1578 Ch. was 14 or 15 !).

CHUTE, ANTHONY. d. 1595? Poet.

1593.—4°. **Beawtie dishonoured, written vnder the title of Shores Wife** (signed "A. C."). 197 6-line stanzas. B. M. Corser IV. 390-6.

NOTE.—**Cephalvs and Procris**, registered Oct. 22, 1593, with no author's name, and pub. 1595 with no name on title-page, but with dedication signed *Thos. Edwards*, is by the latter. See *Roxburghe Club* reprint 1882, ed. Rev. W. E. Buckley, who discovered a perfect copy in Peterborough Cath. Lib. The Introduction, pp. vi. and vii., quotes Prof. Arber's letter on the true meaning of Nash's words (*Have with you to Saffron Walden*, 1596; see Collier *Bibl. Cat.* II. 18), which led to the work being attributed to Chute.

CONSTABLE, HENRY. 1562—1613. Sonnet Writer.

Corser; see 1. (*b*) *infra*. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (S. L. Lee) gives references.

POEMS.—The first collected ed. 1859, pp. xxi. 79, by W. C. Hazlitt, who makes the strange mistake of saying that he prints 63 poems not in the 1594 ed. The number is really 57, as he prints 32 (not 38) from the Todd MS.—see 2 *infra*.

1. (*a*) 1592.—**Diana. The praises of his Mistres, in certaine sweete sonnets,** by H. C. 23 Sonnets; 15 l. 4°, Britwell (prob. unique).

   (*b*) 1594—**Diana. Or, The excellent conceitful Sonnets of H. C. Augmented. . . Deuided into viij Decads.** (Bodl. copy perfect; B. M. imperf. Most copies have 1584 in error for 1594.) A bookseller's edition of 76 sonnets, the 8th decade having only 5 sonnets, with one on the last page. Only 27 are signed H. C.; these repr. all of the 1592 ed. except one, "*To his Absent Diana*"; 8 are by Sidney (pr. as such in 3rd ed. *Arcadia*, 1598, Appendix). The others are by unknown authors. Of the 1597 and 1604 editions no copies are known. Two reprints in facsimile 1818; one being for *Roxburghe Club* (ed. Littledale). Arber, *Eng. Garner* II. 225-64. See Corser IV. 435-8.

2. 1813.— *Harl. Miscell.* (Park) IX. 489-518, prints 63 sonnets from a MS. found at Canterbury by Rev. H. J. Todd, and described by him in his *Milton*, Vol. V. 27 are those of the 1594 ed.; 4 are those before Sidney's *Apologie*, 1595; 32 are new, and are reprinted in Hazlitt's ed. pp. 23-46.

3. 1815.—**Spirituall Sonnettes** (16) **to the Honour of God and hys Sayntes,** "by H. C. (*forsan* Hy. Constable)," from Harl. MS. 7553, were pr. in *Heliconia* II. ed. Park; repr. by Hazlitt, 1859.

4. Scattered poems.—1591, Sonnet in King James' *Poetical Exercises.*—1595, 4 Sonnets before Sidney's *Apologie of Poetrie*, 3 being *To Sir Philip Sidney's Soule.* Repr. Collier, *Poet. Decam.* II. 104.—1600, 4 Pastoral poems signed H. C. in *England's Helicon*, one being on Venus and Adonis; repr. Malone (*Shakespeare* X. p. 74), who considered it preceded and possibly suggested Sh.'s poem.—1610, Sonnet in Bolton's *Elements of Armoury.*

Attributed to Constable—

B. M. catalogue gives *The Catholike Moderator. First written in French by a Catholike Gentleman* [H. C., *i.e.* Hy. Constable], 1623 and 1624.

COOPER, THOS. 1517?—1594. Bishop of Winchester.

Wood (Bl.) I. 608. *Athen. Cantab.* II. 166. *Lives of Bishops of Winchester* (Cassan) II. 36-48. *History of Winchester* (Milnes).

Historical and Linguistic.

1. 1549.—A continuation of Thos. Languet's *Chronicle of the World;* repr. 1560; and in '65 as "Cooper's Chronicle." B. M.
2. 1548.—**Bibliotheca Eliotae**: 2nd ed. 1552, called *Eliot's Dictionary;* 3rd, 1559. The last two in B. M.
3. 1565.—**Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae,** his greatest work, called *Cooper's Dictionary.* Repr. 1573, 1578, 1584. All in B. M.

RELIGIOUS.

(*a*) Controversial—

1. 1562. **An answer in defence of the Truth against the Apology of Private Mass.** Repr. *Parker Soc.* 1850 (ed. Dean Goode).
2. 1589.—**An admonition to the People of England.** B. M. See *Martin Marprelate.* Repr. Arber., *Eng. Schol. Lib.* No. 15.

(*b*) 1573-80.—Sermons (3 issues), and two diocesan works; see *Athen. Cantab.*

COVERDALE, MILES. 1488—1568. Translator of the Bible.

Memorials of Myles Coverdale, pub. Bagster 1838 (elaborate bibliography, pp. 215-260). *The Bible of Coverdale*, F. Fry, 1867. "Histories" of the Bible by Westcott, 2nd ed. 1872; W. F. Moulton, 1884; J. Lewis, 1818. Anderson's *Annals of the Eng. Bible*; Eadie's *English Bible*, 1876; J. I. Mombert, *English Versions of Bible*, 1885; *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* XII. 364-372 (R. H. Tedder), good. Parker Soc. issued 2 vols. (ed. Rev. Geo. Pearson): I. *Writings and Translations* (6 works), 1844; II. *Remains* (including 10 works), 1846.

1535.—Fol. **The Bible . . . . faithfully and truly translated out of Douteche and Latyn into Englishe** (for history, see F. Fry, *supra*). Reprinted by Bagster, 1847, for tercentenary.

1540.—Coverdale edited **The Great Bible** (also called **Cromwell's Bible**); 6 issues 1540.

CRANMER, THOS. 1489—1556. Arch. of Canterbury.

Athen. Cantab. I. 145-154, with full list of 42 works. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (J. Gairdner) mentions 9 principal works. Both give full references. Tanner, p. 207. *Biog. Brit.* (Kippis) IV. 418-427, (list of works, p. 423, Note T).

LIFE.—Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, repr. Clar. Press, 1821. "Lives" by W. Gilpin, 1784; Jane Alice Sargant, 1829, 12°; H. J. Todd, 2 vols. 1831; C. W. Le Bas, 1832, in *Theological Lib.*, Vols. 4 and 5. (The 16 vols. of this library, pub. 1832-48, also contain lives of Wiclif, Jewel, Laud, etc.). *Lives of Archbishops of Canterbury* (Dean W. F. Hook), Vol. VI. from p. 422 *ad fin.* and VII. *in toto.*

WORKS.—**Remains of T. C. collected and arranged.** 4 vols., Oxford, 1833 (ed. H. Jenkins). *Parker Soc.* 1844-6, 2 vols. (ed. Rev. J. E. Cox), which contain his principal works.

DANIEL, SAMUEL. 1562—1619. Poet and Historian.

ollier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 169-178. Corser V. 8-65 (full accounts of various editions). *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (S. L. Lee). Hunter's MS. *Chorus Vatum.* (Addit. MS. 241,489 ff. 223-45.) Wood (Bl.) II. 268-74.

'OEMS.

Poetical works (ed. Grosart), *Huth Library*, 3 vols. 1888, the most complete collected ed. (faulty). D. frequently "collected" his works during his life (as far as (*d*) *infra*).

(*a*) 1599.—4°. **Poeticall Essayes,** *newly corrected and augmented.* B. M. (Corser, 29-32.) E. W. x. 322.

(*b*) 1601.—fol. **The works of S. D.** B. M. The first collected ed.; issued for presentation only. Reissued, 1602, with a new title-page.

(*c*) 1605.—8°. **Certaine small Poems lately printed; with the Tragedie of Philotas.** B. M. (Corser, 43-4.)

(*d*) 1607.—8°. **Certaine small Workes heretofore divulged.** Repr. 1611. (Corser, 48-51.)

(*e*) 1623.—4°. **The whole Workes of Samuel Daniel, Esquire, in Poetrie.** (Corser, 64-5.)

(*f*) 1718.—8°. 2 vols. **Works,** with *Defence of Ryme* added.

halmers' *Poets* III. 447-581 includes the following (not 1, 7, 9), together with the **Defence,** and the songs and dedications from four dramas. Anderson's *Poets* IV. 111-251 includes the same (not the *Defence*), and adds *A description of Beauty*, a verse trans. from Marino.

EPARATE WORKS.

1. 1591.—27 sonnets appended to Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella.*
2. 1592.—**Delia—Contayning certayne** (50) **Sonnets.** B. M. 2nd ed. (also 1592) 54 Sonnets; the **Complaint of Rosamund** (106 7-lined stanzas) being added. Collier, 1870, repr. this ed. of *C. of R.* in facsimile. 3rd ed. 1594, as **Delia and Rosamund augmented.** B. M. (23 stanzas added to "Rosamund"). **Cleopatra** appeared in this vol. See Collier *Bibl. Cat. I.* 170-3; Corser V. 10-22. Arber, *Eng. Garner* III. 1877, repr. "Delia."
3. 1595.—**The First Fowre Bookes of the Civile Wars.** 1599, Bk. V. pr. in (*a*) *supra*; S. Lee, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, speaks of a 1595 ed.); 1601-2, Bk. VI., pr. in (*b*) *supra*; 1609, *The Civile Wars . . . corrected and continued. In eight books.* Grosart, Vol. II., states that Bks. VI. and VII. of the 1609 ed. had really appeared in 1601, the final arrangement being "formed by redistributing the former books." Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 173-4; Corser V. 22-9, and 55-7; E. W. x. 310-4.
4. 1599.—**Musophilus.** B. M. 994 lines, pr. in (*a*) *supra;* but also issued separately. Grosart confuses this with the prose "Defence" *infra*, and gives the date as 1602-3.
5. 1599.—**A letter from Octavia.** B. M. Pr. in (*a*) *supra.*

6. 1603.—fol. **A Panegyrike congratulatorie** to James I.; 73 8-line stanzas. B. M. To some copies **Poetical Epistles** (6), and **Defence of Ryme** are added. (Collier, 175-7; Corser, 35-41.)
7. 1605.—**Vlisses and the Syren.** Pr. in (*c*) *supra.*
8. [1606] **A Funerall Poem upon the Death of the late Noble Earle of Devonshire** (d. Ap. 3, 1606). B. M. Corser 51-54.
9. —Scattered commend. verses. 1595, in Wm. Jones's *Nennio*—1596, in Peter Colse's *Penelopes Complaint*—1602, in trans. of Guarini's *Pastor Fido*—1605, in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*—1609, in Clement Edmundes' *Observations upon Caesar's Commentaries.* Besides verses to his "brother" Florio's *Montaigne*, 1603 and 1613; and his *New World of Words*, 1611.

DRAMATIC WORKS (6). Repr. Grosart Vol. III., with a brief notice by Geo. Saintsbury on the "Tragedies."

(*a*) Tragedy.
1. 1594.—**Cleopatra.** Pr. in "Delia Augmented" No. 2 *supra*; but also separately. Repr. in 1599 in (*a*) *supra*, and also separately. (Corser 33-5.)
2. 1605.—**Philotas.** 1st. pr. in (*c*) *supra.* (Corser V. 44-8.) Repr. 1607, separately and with (*d*) *supra.* B. M.

(*b*) Pastoral Tragicomedy.
1. 1606.—**The Queenes Arcadia.** Bodl. (Malone); prob. unique.
2. 1615.—**Hymens Triumph.** B. M. (Corser 58-60.)

(*c*) Masques.
1. 1604.—**The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses,** a Royal masque. Bodl. unique. Repr. with Introd. and notes 1880 (E. Law).
2. 1610.—**Tethys Festival.** B. M. and Bodl. (Corser 60-64).

PROSE.
i. 1585.—**The Worthy tract of P. Iouius** (his 1st work). B. M. Full title, E. W. x. 208. Collier I. 169-70; Corser V. 8-10.
ii. 1602.—**Defence of Ryme.** (See *Thos. Campion.*) Repr. *Ancient Critical Essays*, 1811, III. (Haslewood); and in Chalmers' *Poets.* E. W. x. 329-30.
iii. 1612.—**The History of England,** Pt. I. (to end of Stephen). 1617, Pt. II. (to end of Ed. III.). In 1636 the two parts continued to H. VII., by J. Trussell. Repr. 1650; 1685.

DAVIES, JOHN, of Hereford. 1565?—1618. Poet and Writing Teacher.

Wood (Bl.) II. 260-5 has a good account. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* XIV. 138-40 (A. H. Bullen). Corser V. 65-103 (very interesting). Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 181-187. Hunter, *Chorus Vatum.* (Addit. MS. 241,489. B. M.)

WORKS.—1878. 4°.—2 vols. *Chertsey Worthies' Lib.*, ed. Grosart. Introduction pp. ix-lix.

OEMS.—B. M. has 1st ed. of all, except 4, 5, 9, and 12. Corser describes all, except 9, 11, 12, 13.

1. 1602.—42 l. **Mirum in modum**, a philosophical poem. B. M. (unique). See Collier I. 181-2; and Corser 65-69.
2. 1603.—pp. 300. **Microcosmos.** B. M. (Appended is an *Extasie* and some sonnets.) 2nd ed. 1605.
3. 1605.—**Humours Heau'n on Earth**; as also **The Triumph of Death**; **or, The Picture of the Plague** (of 1603). B. M. B. M. copy of 2nd ed., 1609, has an autograph dedication in 5 leaves.
4. 1606.—pp. 24. **Bien Venu.** A welcome to Christian IV. of Denmark. Unique copy Ellesmere Lib.
5. 1607.—pp. 76. **Summa Totalis or, All in All, and, the same for euer.** Unique copy, Rev. W. Poole, Ross, Hereford.
6. 1609.—pp. 80. **The Holy Roode, or Christs Crosse.** B. M.
7. [1610-11?] n.d.—83 l. **Wittes Pilgrimage, Through a World of amorous Sonnets** (contains his best poetry). B. M., 2 copies.
8. [1611?]—pp. 278. **The Scourge of Folly.** Containing 293 *Satyricall Epigramms*, 418 "Verses vpon English Prouerbes," and Verses to noble and worthy Persons. B. M. (See Corser 93-103, and Collier I. 186-7.)

   N.B.—*Papers Complaint*, [1611?] occupies pp. 230-46 of the *Scourge*, but with no sep. title-page. In 1625 a continuation by A(braham) H(olland), called *A continued inquisition against Paper Persecutions*, was appended to 2nd ed.
9. 1612.—**The Mvses Sacrifice, or Divine Meditations**, followed by **The Rights of the Living and the Dead.** 3 copies known. Dr. Grosart has 2.
10. 1613.—pp. 38. **The Mvses Teares.** On the death of his pupil, Prince Henry. B. M.
11. 1616.—47 l. **A select second Hvsband for Sir Thos. Overbvries Wife.** B. M. (Grosart prints "1606" in text, and on facsimile title-page, although he possesses a copy!)
12. 1617.—**Wits Bedlam.** No copy known. Grosart gives the existing quotations in Vol. II. *Notes and Illustrations.*
13. —Commendatory poems from various books. (13 pages in Grosart II. *Notes and Illustrations.*)

ROSE.

1633 (1st known ed.). **Writing Schoolmaster; or, The Anatomy of Fair Writing** (repr. 1663 and '69). A book of practical directions, with engraved specimens of handwriting.

DAVIES, SIR JOHN. 1569—1626. Poet, Attorney-General in Ireland, Statesman.

Wood (Bl.) II. 400-5. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* XIV. 140-4 (Bullen) good, with references. Grosart's *Introduction* II. pp. cxcvi. Corser V. 104-110.

WORKS.—1595-1611.—3 vols. ed. Grosart. *Fuller. W. Lib.*, with Introduction. Vol. I. Poems: II. and III. Prose. In Vol. I. Sonnets = i. and ii. are Nos. 1, 2, 3 *infra*: iv. Minor Poems: v. Epigrams: vi. Epitaph and Epigram; vii. pp. 363-402 "hitherto unpublished poems." Nos. 1, 2, 3 *supra* have often been repr. (from 1622 ed.) *e.g.* Anderson's *Poets* II. 675-721; Chalmers' *Poets* V. 73-111: Arber. *Eng. Garner* V.

POEMS.

1. 1596.—18°. pp. 40. **Orchestra.** 131 7-line stanzas. (Bodl. copy probably unique. Repr. 1622, with 5 stanzas on Elizabeth omitted. Grosart, 1869, reprinted the missing stanzas pp. 239-51 of Vol. I.
2. 1595.—4°. pp. 121. **Hence Teipsum.** 1602, 1608, 1618 (with Nos. 1 and 3: see Grosart I. p. 35), 1622 (a repr. of 1618 ed.). All in B. M. 1697 ed. had preface by Nahum Tate repr. Grosart I. 163-70. In 1653 and '58 an Illustrated ed. under title *Wits Recreations fitted for these last Angels and Men.*
3. 1599.—4°. pp. 27. **Hymnes of Astrea,** *in Acrosticke verse* (26 "hymns" repr. 1618 and 1622.
4. [n.d.]—**Epigrammes** 48 in number appeared in various editions, together with Marlowe's "Elegies" under the title *of All Ouids Elegies. 3 Bks. By C. M. Epigrams by J. D. At Middleburgh.* (See Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 519) Repr. in Dyce's *Marlowe* after the "Elegies."
5. 1813.—Bliss (Wood's *Athenæ*) II. 404 printed 2 lines of a Latin Epigram. Repr. Grosart I. 354.
6. 1869.—Grosart printed among *Unpub. Pieces*, Div. vii. of Vol. I. **Metaphrase of some of the Psalms** (as described in Wood's *Athenæ*, p. 403), from MS. Laing Collection, Edin. Univ. Lib. This includes the first 50 psalms, then 6 others (scattered), followed by 20 miscellaneous pieces.
7. 1608.—In Davison's *Poetical Rapsody*, 2nd ed. (repr. Bullen, 1891). **A Hymn in praise of Music**; 10 sonnets; besides the plays *infra*.

DRAMA.

1. **A Lottery,** *presented before the late Queen's Majesty at the Ld. Chancellor's house* (York House), 1601.
2. **A Contention betwixt a Wife, a Widdow, and a Maide.** Both in Davison's *Poetical Rapsody*, 1608. Repr. in Bullen's ed. of this, and by Grosart. See Collier, *Dramatic Poetry* I. 323 seq. ed. 1879.

PROSE.—1st collected by Grosart, Vols. II. and III.

i. 1612.—4°. pp. 287. **A Discoverie of the trve cavses why Ireland was neuer entirely Subdued.** B. M. 2 copies. Numerous ed.; latest in Morley's *Carisbrooke Lib.*

ii. 1615.—fol. **Le premier Report des Cases et Matters en Ley resolues . . . en Ireland . . . Collect . . . per Sr. Iohn Davys Chiualer, Atturney Generall del Roy.** B. M. 2 copies; in law French; translated 1762. Grosart

gives under *A discourse of the common law of England*, the Epistle dedicatory, and the "Case of Praemunire."

iii. 1651.—**Perfect abridgment of the 11 Books of the Reports of Sir Edward Coke.**

v. 1656.—8°. **The Question concerning Impositions, Tonnage, Poundage, &c.**

v. 1771.—In Hearne's *Collection of Curious Discourses*, 2 vols., are 4 Antiquarian Essays (date 1601). Repr. Grosart.

vi.–viii.—Grosart prints *State Papers on Ireland;* 2 *Speeches in Ireland;* and a *Charge to the Jurors of the Grand Inquest at York*. Pr. from MSS., of which there are two in B. M.

N.B.—Chalmers' *Historical Tracts*, 1786, contain, together with "Life" (pp. xxxii.), No. 1 of "Prose" *supra*, as well as one letter to the Earl of Salisbury on the state of Ireland in 1607; another, in 1610, giving an account of the plantation of Ulster, and a speech to the Lord Deputy 1613, tracing the ancient constitution of Ireland.

Attributed to Davies. See Hazlitt, *Handbook*, p. 143.

PROSE.

i. 1620.—**A New Post, . . . in sundrie excellent Essayes or wittie Discourses, by Sir I. D. Knight.** Seven essays with 11 stanzas of verse at end. Repr. by Grosart. Given as "doubtful" Bodl. Cat.; Bliss (Wood's *Athenæ*), "I cannot justly tell"; *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (Bullen), "doubtful."

ii. 1613.—**The Declaration of ovr Soveraigne Lord the King . . . concerning the Title of . . . his Sonne Charles to the Duchy of Cornewall.** Ascribed to him by Wood (*Athenæ*), Chalmers, etc. Repr. Grosart. B. M. has 2 copies, *but not under "Davies."*

iii. 1590.—4°. 4 l. **Sir Martin Mar People his Coller of Esses . . . by John Davies.** (A copy is among the Lambeth *Marprelate tracts.*) Probably not his. See *M. Marprelate.*

VERSE.

1591.—16°. **O Vtinam.** Bodl. unique. Probably not his.

1600.—Verses in *England's Helicon*, long attributed to him. See *John Dickenson.*

DEKKER, THOMAS. 1570?—1641? Dramatist and Pamphleteer.

Article by A. C. Swinburne, *XIX. Cent.* Jan. 1887. Grosart's *Memorial Introd.* Introd. in Shepherd's ed. 1873, and in *Mermaid Series* ed. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (Bullen). Collier *Bibl. Cat.* 195-212 (notices 13 works). Corser V. 129-173. Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 147-151, gives the titles in full; also Lowndes, 607-10. E. W. xi. 290-8.

WORKS.—I. Dramatic. 1873. 4 vols. 8°. R. H. Shepherd. *Mermaid Series* (ed. Ernest Rhys, with introduction) has Nos. 1, 2, 5 (*a*), 2 (*b*), and the "Witch of Edmonton."

II. Non-dramatic. 1884. 5 vols. for *Huth Library*, 50 copies, ed. Grosart, with introduction and notes. Gr. prints *Patient Grissil* at the end of Vol. V.

I. DRAMA. 21 plays, including pageants. (Spelling modernised.)

(*a*) Written alone —

1. 1600.—**The Shoemaker's Holiday.** (Pub. anon.) B. M.
2. 1600.—**The Comedy of old Fortunatus.** (Epilogue is signed Tho. Dekker.) B. M. E. W. x. 402 (also gives full title of No. 1.) See C. H. Herford's *Literary Relations of England and Germany*, pp. 203-19.
3. 1602.—**Satiromastix.** E. W. x. 391-3.
4. 1607.—**The Whore of Babylon.**
5. 1630 [*licensed* Ap. 29, 1608]. **The Honest Whore, Pt. II.** (See *infra*, and E. W. xi. 297.)
6. 1612.—**If it be not good the Devil is in it.**
7. 1631.—**Match me in London.** A tragi-comedy.
8. 1636.—**The Wonder of a Kingdom.**

(*b*) Written with others—

1. 1603.—**Patient Grissil.** With Haughton and Chettle. (See *Erlanger Beiträge zur Englische Philologie*, Heft 15, 1893.)
2. 1604.—**The Honest Whore, Pt. I.** With Middleton. (See E. W. xi. 297.)
3. 1607.—**Westward-Hoe.** With John Webster.
4. 1607.—**Northward-Hoe.** ,, ,,
5. 1607.—**The Famous History of Sir Thos. Wyat.** With Webster. (Vide N.B. *infra*.)
6. 1611.—**The Roaring Girl.** With T. Middleton.
7. 1622.—**The Virgin Martyr.** A tragedy, with Ph. Massinger.
8. 1656.—**The Sun's Darling.** A moral masque, with John Ford.
9. 1658.—**The Witch of Edmonton.** With Wm. Rowley, John Ford, etc. (*sic*).

(*c*) Pageants.

1. 1604.—**The magnificent entertainment given to King James,** etc., Mar. 15, 1604. (With *B. Jonson*, q.v.) E. W. xi. 237.

2-4. 1612.—**Troia Triumphans, London Triumphing**; 1628, **Brittania's honour**; 1629, **London's Tempe.** (Repr. *Percy Soc.*, Vol. X.) These are three Lord Mayors' Pageants.

N.B.—For Dekker's early plays, mentioned by Henslowe, see E. W. x. 395-6.

In 1657, Fr. Kirkman pr. *Lusts Dominion, or the Lascivious Queen, a Tragedy by Chr. Marloe* (see *Marlowe*): this is probably the *Spanish Moor's Tragedy* mentioned by Henslowe, p. 165, as by Dekker, Haughton, and Day. (Repr. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, 1874, xiv. *Sir Thos. Wyat* mentioned *supra*, is possibly a revision of *Lady Jane* (Henslowe, pp. 242 and 3).

PROSE.

NOTE.—Nos. 1 to 4, and 6 to 13 are in B. M.; 5 and 14 Bodl. Grosart's unique copy of 12 is now in B. M. All are 4°

pamphlets of from 25-30 leaves. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 195-212 notices all but 1, 9, 12, 13. Corser V. 129-173.

i. 1603.—**The Wonderfull yeare.** (Some verse.)

ii. 1603.—**The Batchelars Banquet.**

iii. 1606.—**The Seuen deadly Sinnes of London.** Repr. Arber, *Eng. Schol. Lib.* No. 7.

iv. 1606.—**Newes from Hell.** B. M. and Bodl. Reissued 1607. 40 l. as **A Knights Conjuring,** etc. Repr. Percy Soc. 1842.

v. 1607.—**Iests to make you Merie.** By Dekker and Geo. Wilkins. 60 jests; followed by the lengthy *Discoveries made by Cock Wat, the walking Spirit of Newgate;* and 2 other very short pieces. Bodl., unique.

vi. 1608.—**The Dead Tearme. or, Westminsters Complaint for long Vacations and short Termes.**

vii. 1608.—**The Belman of London.** Huth Collection.

viii. 1608.—**Lanthorne and Candle-light.** *Or, The Bell-Mans second Nights-walke.* B. M. 2nd ed. 1609. See Collier, 208-9, where he gives an account of the addition, *O per se,* etc. 1612. B. M. See also Hazlitt, *Handbook,* 149.

ix. 1609.—**Worke for Armorours;** *or, The Peace is Broken.*

x. 1609.—**The Ravevens Almanacke;** *Foretelling of a Plague, Famine, and Ciuill Warre That shall happen this present yeare* 1609.

xi. 1609.—**The Gvls Horne-booke.** Repr. by Nott 1812 (incorrectly); and 1862, by Halliwell.

xii. 1609.—**Foure Birdes of Noahs Arke.** (The *Dove, Eagle, Pelican,* and *Phœnix,* with sep. title-page for each except the Dove.) See Hazlitt, *Handbook.* Dr. Grosart's copy (unique) now in B. M.

xiii. 1613.—**A Strange Horse-Race.** (At the end is the *Catch-poles Masque.*)

xiv. 1625.—**A Rod for Run-awayes.** Bodl. A hasty pamphlet when people were fleeing from the Plague.

xv. 1628.—**Warres, Warres, Warres.** A tract of 8 leaves, described Collier I. 210-11. Grosart (vol. v. 235-7) reprints Collier's notice, as the work is now lost.

VERSE.—(Some prose in 2 and 4.)

1. 1598.—**Canaans Calamitie, Jerusalems Misery, and Englands Mirror.** In 6-line stanzas. No perfect copy known.

2. 1606.—**The Double P. P.** *A Papist in Armes . . . encountered by the Protestant.* B. M. (Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 197.)

3. 1616.—**The Artillery Garden.** Mentioned by Hazlitt, *Handbook,* No. 26. No copy known.

4. 1620.—**Dekker his Dreame.** B. M. Repr. 1860 Halliwell, 25 copies, with a number of small errors.

Attributed to Dekker.

1618.—**The Owles Almanacke.** See Hazlitt, *Handbook,* No. 27, p. 151; and Corser V. 171, who thinks it is by Dekker. Grosart (V. p. xx.) and Collier (I. 207) think it is not.

DICKENSON, JOHN. fl. 1594. Romance Writer and Poet.

WORKS.—1878.—4° ed. Grosart, *Occasional Issues*, Vol. VI. (50 copies). This contains Nos. 1, 2, 3 *infra*, with Introduction.

1. [1594, *circa*] n.d. 4°. **The Shepheardes Complaint, A passionate Eclogue, written in English Hexameters.** Isham Lib., unique. A *prose* story; 18¼ pages in Grosart, with verse in various metres interspersed; among this are 124 lines (3½ pages) of hexameter—the *Eclogue*.
2. 1594.—4° B.L. 34 leaves. **Arisbas. Euphues amidst his slumbers: or, Cupids Iourney to Hell.** B. M. and Bodl. Prose interspersed with verse.
3. 1598.—4°, 67 l. **Greene in Conceipt.** Bodl. (Malone). See Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 219-21.

NOTE I.—*England's Helicon*, 1600 (repr. 1887 A. H. Bullen) contains 3 short poems signed J. D. These have been assigned to various writers, but are taken from No. 1 *supra*. See Bullen's Introd. pp. 51-3.

NOTE II.—Grosart's Introd. gives an account of, and extracts from, 3 works by *a* John Dickenson. It is not known if he be the same. 2 and 3 were printed *abroad*.

1. 1591.—Pp. 24. *Deorum consessus, sive Apolinis ac Minervae querela*, etc. Bodl., unique.
2. 1601.—Pp. 127 (Delft). *Speculum Tragicum Regum Principum et Magnatum*, etc. (Other ed. 1602, '3, and '5.) "A more elegant Mirror for Magistrates" (Grosart). Nearly all prose. B. M.
3. 1606.—4°, pp. 71 (Leyden). *Miscellanea ex Historiis Anglicanis concinnata*. (Latin verse.) B. M. and Bodl., the latter a gift copy.

DRANT, THOMAS. d. 1580. Poet, Translator, Divine.

Athen. Cantab. I. 384-6 (with full references). *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (A. H. Bullen). Corser, V. 244-50 gives an account of the "Medicinable Morall" and full references, p. 249. E. W. ix. 73-5.

POETRY.

1. 1564.—Verses (Eng., Lat., Grk.) on the Queen's visit to Cambridge. See Nichols' *Frog. of Eliz.* III. 36-8.
2. 1565.—**Epigrammatis in mortem Cuthberti Scoti.**
3. [15—].—**Poemata varia et externa.** (Mentioned in *Athen. Cantab.* as pr. at Paris.)
4. 1572.—**In Solomonis regis Ecclesiastem . . . paraphrasis poetica.**
5. [1580 *circa*] n.d.—4°. **Praesul; ejusdem sylva.** (Presentation copy with MS. verses to the Queen in B. M.)
6. ☞—Various *commendatory verses* indicated in *Athen. Cantab.* p. 386, and in *Dict. of N. Biog.*

7. —A version of the Psalms (supposed to have been in Eng. Verse). Not known.

TRANSLATIONS.

1. —Trans. of Homer (4 Bks. Iliad), unfinished, unpub.
2. 1566.—**A Medicinable Morall** (2 Bks. of Horace's Satires in Eng. verse; followed by **The Wailyngs of the prophet Hieremiah**, verse). B. M. Corser, Pt. V. 244-50.
3. 1567.—**Horace: his arte of Poetrie, pistles and Satyrs, Englished.** B. M.
4. 1568.—**Greg. Naxienzen, his Epigrams and Spiritual Sentences.**

PROSE.

i. [1570] n.d.—Two sermons (preached 1569 and '70). B. M.
ii. 1572.—*A fruitful and necessary Sermon specially concernyng almes geving.* B. M.
iii. —Sermons at Chichester and St. Giles. (Extracts in MS. Lansdowne 110, Art. 16.)

DRAYTON, MICHAEL. 1563—1631. Poet.

Corser VI. 251-310 gives very full accounts. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (Bullen) a good short article. Bullen's *Sclections* 1883 has a good Introd. (pp. ix-xxiii). Collier, Preface to (*h*) *infra*. Hazlitt's *Handbook* gives titles in full.

WORKS.—No complete ed. See Corser VI. 273-291 for accounts. B. M. has almost all the editions.

(*a*) 1605.—8°. pp. 504. **Poems.** Reissued 1608, '10, '13, and [n.d.]
(*b*) [1605 *circa*] n.d.—**Poemes, Lyrick and Pastorall.** A vol of 122 pp., probably a kind of supplement to (*a*). Reissued 1608, '10, '13, and [n.d.]. It contained *Odes*, *Eclogues*, *The Man in the Moon*, together with 8, 9 (including *Idea*), and 7 *infra*.
(*c*) 1619.—fol. **Poems, with Sondry Pieces inserted, never before imprinted.** This included all, except *Polyolbion*, pub. 1613, that Dr. desired to retain; also a few new lyrics.
(*d*) 1628.—8°. **Poems, newly corrected.**
(*e*) 1630.—8°. **Poems, newly corrected and augmented.**
(*f*) 1637.—12°. **Poems.**
(*g*) 1748.—fol. **Works.** Incomplete ed. omits Nos. 1, 5, 6, 10, 11 and 13 *infra*. Presumably a hasty issue, as the "appendix" gives 5 groups of poems "from the cabinets of the curious," which did not come to hand in time to be inserted. Repr. 1753. 4 vols. 8°.
(*h*) 1856.—**Poems by M. D. from the earliest and rarest editions.** pp. 473, with memoir and notes. (*Roxburghe Club;* ed. Collier.) This contains 1, 2, 6, 5, 8 (*Mortimeriados*), *b*, and the 1599 and 1619 editions of *Idea*.
(*i*) 1876.—Rev. Rich. Hooper issued 3 vols. of what may yet be the *Complete works, now first collected.* "Polyolbion" alone has appeared.

(*k*) 1883.—*Selections* (ed. A. H. Bullen) with Introduction.
N.B.—Chalmers' *Poets* IV. and Anderson's *Poets* III. contain most of the poems.

SEPARATE EDITIONS. (Corser describes 1, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17; besides the early collected editions *supra*.

1. 1591.—4° (*a*). **The Harmonie of the Church** (his earliest work). The edition was condemned and destroyed. B. M. copy unique. Repr. *Percy Soc.* 1843 (ed. Dyce); and Collier (*h*) *supra*. E. W. x. 210.
1610. (*b*). **A Heavenly Harmonie of Spirituall Songs and Holy Hymnes.** B. M., unique. This is (*a*) with new title-page. Not repr. by Drayton in any ed. of his poems.
2. 1593.—**Idea. The Shepheards Garland Fashioned in Nine Egloga.** Afterwards much altered. Three copies known. B. M. has one.
3. [1593.]—**The Legend of Peirs Gaueston.**
4. 1594.—**Matilda, the faire and chaste daughter of Lord Rob. Fitzwater.**
5. [n.d.]—4°. 25 l. (Ent. *Stat. Reg.* Ap. 12, 1594.) **Endimion and Phoebe.** 2 copies known. Not repr. by Drayton; portions were, however, inserted in *The Man in the Moon*.
6. 1594.—pp. 56. **Ideas Mirrovr.** 51 sonnets; 22 not reprinted by Drayton.
7. 1596.—16°. **Tragicall Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandie.** Issued with Nos. 3 and 4, revised. B. M.
8. [1596] n.d.—**Mortimeriados.** 2 copies known, B. M. and Bodl. Repr. much altered 1603 as **The Barrons Warre.** B. M.
9. 1597.—8°. **Englands Heroicall Epistles** (Bodl.). Each epistle has historical notes, and usually a dedication to each pair. 1598 B. M.; 1599, with sonnets (*Idea*), Bodl. (and B.M.); 1602 (B. M. and Bodl.); 1603, with *The Barons' Wars*. 5 ed. in 6 years. E. W. x. 319-321.
10. 1603.—pp. 12. **To the Majestie of King James,** *a gratulatorie poem*. (B. M. and Bodl.)
11. 1604.—**A Paean triumphal,** on the entry of K. James to the City. Repr. Nichols' *Progresses*. I. 402-7.
12. 1604.—pp. 56. **The Owle,** an allegorical poem on the neglect of learning.
13. 1604.—pp. 96. **Moyses in a Map of his Miracles.** Bodl. (Malone) and B. M.
14. 1607.—**Legend of Cromwell.** Reissued, with changes, 1609. B M. Included in 1610 ed. of *Mirrour for Magistrates*, q.v.
15. 1613.—fol. **Poly-olbion** (the first 18 songs), with notes by Selden; and maps. B. M. (both parts).
1622.—fol. **Pt. II.** Songs 19-30, being added to a reissue of the others. Repr. complete by Rich. Hooper 1876. 3 vols.
16. 1627.—sm. fol. **The Battaile of Agincourt, &c.** Including *The Miseries of Queen Margarite; Nimphidia; The Quest of Cynthia; The Shepherds Sirena; The Moone-Calf* (i.e. 6 pieces); besides 12 *Elegies*.

17. 1630.—pp. 214. **The Muses Elisium.** 10 pastoral dialogues or "Nymphalls;" and 3 "divine poems"—*Noahs Floud; Moses, his birth and miracles; Dæuid and Golia.* B. M.
18. —Commendatory verses. See Hazlitt, *Hdbk.* p. 167, No. 24; or last § of *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

N.B.—Henslowe's Diary mentions a number of lost plays.

DYER, Sir EDWARD. 1540—1607. Poet.

Wood (Bl.) I. 743. Sir H. Nicholas' ed. of Davison's *Poetical Rapsody*, 1826, contains memoir of D. and others. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* xvi. 283-4 (A. H. Bullen). J. Hannah's notes in *Courtly Poets* (1875). The notes in Grosart give full information as to MSS. E. W. ix. 147-149.

Works.—First collected by Grosart, *Full. Worth. Lib.* IV. 1872.

Poems.

1. 1578.—In *A Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*, 18 lines, **A lady forsaken complayneth.** Signed M. D. (i.e. Master Dyer).
2. 1588.—In Bird's *Psalms, Sonets, and Songs of Sadnes*, **My mynde to me a kyngdome is** (set to music).
3. 1589.—3 quotations (from unknown poems) in Puttenham's *Arte of Poesie.*

4 and 5. 1593.—2 poems in *Phoenix Nest;* p. 75 **Love-contradictions**, and p. 88 **Love-despondency**, both signed M. Dier (he became *Sir* E. Dyer 1596).

6. 1598.—In ed. of *Arcadia*, p. 477, **The Shepherds conceit of Prometheus**, a sonnet.

7 and 8. 1600.—3 poems (one being a reprint of No. 6) in *Englands Helicon;* one of the others is signed S. E. Dyer (Bullen's repr. 1887, p. 105-6); the other, S. E. D. (Bullen, p. 69-70).

9. 1660.—**A Fancy**, 41 4-l verses, printed in *Poems of Pembroke and Sir E. Rudyard*, p. 29. Restored to Dyer by Hannah 1875. Signed in *Rawl. MS. poet.* 85, and in other MSS., *Sir Ed. Dyer.* Dyer has introduced his name into the poem; see Hannah (who gives 40 verses) last verse but one. Grosart gives an additional verse (41 in all); in his repr. the name is in the last verse but two.
10. 1812.—Seven 8-line stanzas printed on the back of title-page of *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXXXII. from the *Oxford Herald*, as being from a "MS. collection of poems written about the year 1600."
11. 1813.—Wood (Bl.) I. 743. **The man whose thoughts**, etc. Pr. from *Rawl. MS.;* signed "M. Dier."

12 and 13. 1872.—Grosart's edition prints two others from *Rawl. MS.* 85.

N.B. (*a*)—*The Epitaph of Sir Ph. Sidney*, given in Chatham MS. 8012 pp. 143-152 as by Dyer, is stated *Rawl. MS.* to be by Nicholas Breton.

(*b*) *Sixe Idillia, &c.* 1588 4° 8 l., described Collier, *Bibl. Cat. I.* 237-9 as by Dyer, is simply *dedicated* to E. D. Reprinted privately 1883, Oxford, by Rev. H. C. Daniel.

PROSE.

1585.—4°. 15 l. **A Prayse of Nothing** (Tanner Collect. Bodl., unique); an imitation of Erasmus' *Praise of Folly.* Reprinted (25 copies) Collier, 1840 (?), and in Grosart's ed. pp. 71-115.

EDEN, RICHARD. 1521?—1576. Translator.

Best account: *The First Three English Books on America*, 1885 (ed. E. A. Arber), pp. xxxviii-xlviii. See *Athen. Cantab.* II. 2-4 (full), and *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (meagre), for references. Full titles given E. W. ix. 117-20 (see Note, p. 120). B. M. has 1st ed. of 2, 4, 5, 6.

1. 1553.—**A treatyse of the newe India**, etc. (trans. from Latin). Repr. Arber 1885.
2. 1555.—**The Decades of the newe Worlde.** A collection of travels of great interest. Eden's chief work. Repr. Arber 1885.
3. 1559.—**The Anatomy** *of Thomas Geminus* (1st ed. 1545 fol.), revised. See Arber, p. xl.
4. 1561.—**The Arte of Navigation**, etc.
5. 1577.—Ludovico Barthema's **Travels in the East in 1503.** A second and altered edition, also 1577, was called **The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies**, etc. (B. M.); see Arber, p. xlviii at the end. This was pr. by Hakluyt in his "Collections" and his "Selection" of Voyages.
6. [1579?] n.d.—**A very necessarie and profitable Booke concerning Navigation.** (A separate issue; not pr. with 5, as mentioned E. W. ix. 119). Completed 1574, it was pub. "4 or 5 years later." (*Arber* xlvi.)
7. —In *Letters on Scientific subjects*, Pt. I. (Halliwell), **A Letter to Sir Wm. Cecil**, dated Aug. 1, 1562.

EDWARDS, RICHARD. 1523?—1566. Poet, Musician, Playwright.

Wood (Bl.) I. 353. Hazlitt's *Warton*, II. § 52, pp. 213-20. Hawkins' *Hist. of Music* (*vide* Index and pp. 924-7, where he gives specimens of songs and music). E. W. viii. 214-217; 378-81.

DRAMA.

1571.—**The excellent Comedie of two the moste faithfullest Freendes, Damon and Pithias**, *newly Imprinted.* 4°. 2nd ed. 1582 (stated E. W. viii. 378 to be the first ed.). Both ed. B. M. Corser VI. 334-9. Repr. *Dodsley* I.; Hazlitt's *Dodsley* I.; *Anc. Brit. Drama* I.

POETRY

1. 1576.—4°. **The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises.** Our second Miscellany, 124 poems. R. E. was editor and chief contributor. 8 editions up to 1600: 1576, '7, '8; '80, '5, '6; 1600; and n. d. (prob. between '96 and 1600). Corser VI. 325-34. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 241-5. E. W. viii. 214-7 (with Note). Repr. *Brit. Bibliog.* III. 1810 (S. E. Brydges) from transcript of 1st ed. (with appendix of the additional pieces from 1580 and 1600 ed.) pp. xxx. 119. Also in *Seven English Miscellanies* (Collier) Pt. II. 1867.
2. Cotton MS. Titus A. xxiv. contains 4 poems.

Attributed to Edwards.

1. Warton mentions a collection of short comic stories "sett forth by Maister Rich. Edwardes, mayster of his maiesties revels" 1570. (E. was not Master of Revels.)
2. *Epytaphe of the Lord of Pembroke*, "by Mr. Edwardes," licensed 1569. (E. had been dead 3 years.)

ELDERTON, WM. d. 1592? Ballad Writer.

Collier, *Eng. Dram. Poetry*, 1879, III. 210-12. *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, Pt. IV. pp. 53-63. Ritson's *Bibl. Poet.* pp. 195-9. Chappell's *Popular Music of Olden Time. Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (Bullen). Hazlitt, *Handbook*, p. 177-9, where he gives 27 numbers. (See also Gray's Index.)

Old Ballads from Early printed Copies, Percy Soc. 1850 (Collier). This vol. contains 25 ballads; Nos. 6 (pp. 25-8) and 10 (pp. 45-9) are signed "W. E." *Ancient Ballads and Broadsides*, Philobiblon Soc. 1867. *Harl. Miscell.* (Park) X. 266-274 has four ballads.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. 1533—1603.

II. Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, ed. Park I. 84-112, gives a list of her various translations—Plato, Isocrates, Euripides, Boethius, Xenophon, etc., and her orations, speeches, etc. Her letters are given in various works—*e.g. Camden Soc.* 1849. E. W. ix. 88-91 gives, in the notes, references to *Anglia* (Dr. Flügel). The translation of the Queen of Navarre's **Godly Meditacyon of the Christen Sowle**, 1548, 8°, is in B. M.

FAIRFAX, ED. d. 1635. Poet and Translator.

POETRY.

1. 1600.—Fol. 200 leaves. **Godfrey of Bulloigne; or, The Recoverie of Ierusalem.** *Done into English heroicall verse by Edward Fairfax, gent.* (1st complete trans. of Tasso, see *Rich. Carew*). 2nd ed. 1624. Standard ed. S. W. Singer, 2 vols. 8°, 1817. Cheap ed. Routledge's *British Poets*,

1868, 8°. See E. W. x. 458-63; Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 267-9; and *Anglia* xii. 103-142.

2. —12 **Eclogues**, the 4th, **Eglon and Alexis**, pr. by Mrs. Cooper, *Muses' Lib.* 1737, from the MS. of all 12 in poss. of Fairfax family. *Philobiblon Misc.* Vol. XII. contains another. Possibly "Eclogue Octava," **Ida and Opilio** (Addit. MS. 11743, ff. 5-6, B. M.) is another. The others are lost.

PROSE.

A discourse of Witchcraft. Wr. 1621. First printed *Philobiblon Misc.* Vol. V. 1859, ed. R. M. Milnes (Ld. Houghton). Reprinted under title *Dæmonologia* in cheap form, Harrogate, 1882, 8°, by W. Grainge, with Biog. introd. (pp. 9-29) and notes.

FENTON, SIR GEOFFREY. 1539?—1608. Translator and Statesman.

E. W. viii. 294-5, contains an enumeration, with full titles, of the only 8 works by Fenton. All are translations, pub. between 1567 and 1579. B. M. has first ed. of all but the *Actes of Conference* and *Monophylo*. Bodl. contains these. See also *Biog. Brit.* and *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (Lionel Cust).

FITZ GEFFREY, CHARLES. 1575?—1638. Poet and Divine.

Wood (Bl.) II. 607-9. Grosart's Introduction (full). *Dict. of Nat Biog.* (A. H. Bullen).

POEMS.—Ed. Grosart, *Occas. Issues*, Vol. XVI. 1881, pp. lxi. 208. 2 Pts. including Nos. 1 and 3 *infra*.

1. 1596.—**Sir Francis Drake, His Honorable lifes commendation, and his Tragicall Deathes lamentations.** B. M. Two ed. 1596. Repr. 1819 (S. E. Brydges), pp. xxiii. 101, and by Grosart *supra*.
2. 1601.—**Caroli Fitzgeofridi Affanis; sive Epigrammatum; libri tres; Ejusdem Cenotaphia.**
3. 1634.—**The Blessed Birth-day, also Holy Transportations** (16 of them). Repr. 1636, with additions, and 1653. (B. M. has all 3.) Grosart repr. 1636 ed.
4. —Scattered commendatory verses. See *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* XIX. 109.

PROSE.

4 issues of sermons, 1620-36. All 4 in B. M. See Grosart's Introd. xxvi-xxxiv, and *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis* (Boase and Courtney). 1874. 2 vols. 8°.

FLETCHER, GILES, LL.D. 1549?—1611. Poet, Ambassador, etc.

Memoir by Ed. A. Bond (see below). Grosart's Introduction; *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* Vol. XIX. pp. 299-302 (Thompson Cooper); both very careful, with full references and list of 10 works.

Poems.

1. **Licia, or, Poemes of Love.** 4°. 47 l. [n.d.; dedication Sept. 4, 1593]. 52 sonnets, 3 elegies, and 4 other poems, including the *Rising to the Crowne of Richard III.* 2 copies known, one in Bodleian (Malone). Repr. Grosart, *Misc. Full. Worth.* 1876, pp. xliii. 99. E. W. x. 213.
2. **De literis antiquae Britanniae.** Latin poem ed. by his son Phineas, 1633. 12°. 30 l. B. M.
3. Various scattered Latin verses. List by Grosart xxxvi-ix, and by Cooper, who gives correct date, 1576, for Haddon elegies.

Prose.

i. **Of the Russe Common Wealth.** 1591. 8°, ff. 116. B. M. Repr. in abridged form by Hakluyt and Purchas; and in full with 2 other works on Russia, together with a Life, by Ed. A. Bond, *Russia at the close of the 16th cent.* (Hakluyt Soc. 1856.)

ii. **An essay upon some probable grounds that the Tartars . . . are the Posterity of the Ten Tribes of Israel.** Pr. 1677. 12°, in Sam. Lee's *Israel Redux* (B. M.), and by Whiston, in his *Memoirs*, 1748.

FLETCHER, GILES (the younger). 1588?—1623. Poet.

Works.—ed. Grosart, 1868. *Full. Worth. Lib.* with full Introduction. Repr. with a few added facts, 1876, as "Complete poems of Giles Fletcher" in *Early Eng. Poets.* (Introd. pp. 100.) This includes 1, 2, 3 *infra.* No. 2 is in Chalmers' *Poets*, Vol. VI.; and in Sandford's collection.

Poems.

1. 1603.—In a Cambridge volume called *Sorrowes Joy; or, a Lamentation for our Deceased Soveraigne Elizabeth, &c.*, was a **Canto upon the death of Eliza.** 12 8-line stanzas. Repr. Nichols' *Progresses of James I.* I. 17-19.
2. 1610.—**Christs Victorie, and Triumph in Heauen, and Earth, over, and after Death.** (E. W. xi. p. 312-6). Repr. 1632; and in 1640 (with 7 plates). All three ed. pr. at Cambridge: all in B. M. 1783, with Phineas Fletcher's "Purple Island," B. M.; 1824; and '34 as Vol. XX. of *Sacred Classics;* and 1888 in *Library of Theological Literature.*
3. 1868—Grosart pr. from Tanner MS. 465, fol. 42 (Bodl.) 44 lines of 10-syl. rhymed verse **After Petronius,** based on the *Encolpus* of Petronius (the favourite of Nero: d. A.D. 66).
4. —Unpublished. **Aegidii Fletcheri Versio Poetica Lamentationum Ieremiae** (at King's Coll. Camb.).

Prose.

1623.—**The Reward of the Faithfull . . . the Labour of the Faithfull . . . the Ground of our Faith.** A 12° tract. B. M.

FLETCHER, JOHN. 1579—1625. Dramatist.

Dyce's Introduction, Vol. I. 1843, gives almost all the facts of Beaumont and Fletcher's lives. Darley's Introd., 1840, contains some

excellent criticism. Weber, 1812, in Introd. cii-cxxix, gives a good account of the previous ed. of plays. Dyce gives good separate Introd. to each play. Works dealing with the attempt to assign the various portions of plays to their authors are: F. G. Fleay's paper, *New Shak. Soc.* 1874; (repr. with a few changes in his *Manual*, 1876). Rob. Boyle, in a series of 5 papers from 1882-7 in *Eng. Stud.* Vols. V.-X. devotes nearly 120 pages to this subject; W. H. Oliphant, 1890-2, in Vols. XIV.-XVI. gives 3 papers. Fleay, in *Eng. Stud.* IX. 12-35 ("The Chronology of the plays of Fletcher and Massinger"), and XIII. 28-36 (on the "Annals of the career of Nat. Field"), modifies his views, and seriously attempts to settle the chronology of the plays. Bullen, in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, a good article. G. C. Macaulay, *Fr. Beaumont; A Critical Study*, 1883, deals only incidentally with Fletcher. B. Leonhardt, in *Eng. Stud.* XIII. p. 36-63, gives a paper in German on "Bonduca." Ward, *Dram. Lit.* II. 155-248, is descriptive rather than critical. A. C. Swinburne, *Ency. Brit.* ed. IX. Vol. II. 469-74.

WORKS.—1647.—1st folio, with Fletcher's portrait (B. M.), 35 plays, those previously pub. being purposely omitted. 1652, the *Wild-goose Chase*, considered as "lost" in 1647, was pub. separately in folio. (B. M.) 2nd folio, 1679, included 52 plays; B. M. 3 copies. [C. 45 i. 7 is that of Charles Lamb (see *Essays of Elia*, "Old China"), from which he made extracts for his *Specimens*, the passages being marked + +. The vol. contains MS. notes by Coleridge. In Pt. II. p. 8 he wrote: "N.B.—I shall not be long here, Charles. I gone, you will not mind my having spoiled a book in order to leave a relic. S. T. C., Oct. 1811." He lived, however, till 1834.] 1711, a reprint with additional blunders. 1750, 10 vols. (ed. Theobald, completed by Seward and Sympson); this ed. took great liberties with the text. 1778, 10 vols. (ed. Geo. Colman). 1812, 14 vols. (ed. Hy. Weber). 1840, 2 vols. (Darley). 1843, 11 vols. (Dyce); the best edition; text modernised.

POEMS.

1607 and '11.—8 lines prefixed to B. Jonson's *Volpone*, and 20 to *Catiline*.

NOTE.—In the following table a condensed statement of the views held as to the joint authorship of the plays is attempted. Dyce's work is taken as a basis: and other opinions (except those of Macaulay and Ward) are given in chronological order. The following abbreviations are used:—

1. T. (Tragedy); T.C. (Tragi-Comedy); C. (Comedy); act. (acted); pr. (printed); lic. (licensed). A (—) separates the view (or views) held by one critic from that which follows.

2. The names of dramatic authors are thus given:—B. (Beaumont); D. (Daborne); F. (Fletcher); Fd. (Field); J. (Ben Jonson); M.

Massinger; Mid. (Middleton); R. (Rowley); Sh. (Shirley); Shaks. (Shakespeare).

3. The names of critics are thus indicated:—Boy. (R. Boyle); Bul. (A. H. Bullen); Dy. (A. Dyce); Fl. (F. G. Fleay); Mac. (G. C. Macaulay); Ol. (W. H. Oliphant).

4. References to the works mentioned in the first paragraph *supra*, are in italics:—the figures *viii.*, etc., refer to the volumes of the *Englische Studien; Man.* to Fleay's "Manual"; and *N.S.S.* to the New Shakspere Society's papers. Mr. Bullen's work is in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

Drama. (Spelling modernised.)

I.—Plays which all critics agree in assigning to Fletcher alone:—

1. P. C. **The Faithful Shepherdess.** Acted 1608-9; pr. by 1610.
2. C. **Monsieur Thomas.** Act. 1609? (Fl. *ix.* p. 15); pr. 1639.
3. C. **Wit without Money.** Act. not before 1614; pr. 1639.
4. T. C. **Loyal Subject.** Lic. Nov. 16, 1618; pr. 1647.
5. T. **Bonduca.** Act. before 1619 (*circa* 1616, Fl.); pr. 1647.
6. T. C. **Mad Lover.** Act. before 1619 (1618, Fl.); pr. 1647.
7. T. **Valentinian.** Act. before 1619 (*circa* 1616, Fl.); pr. 1647.
8. T. C. **A Woman Pleased.** Act. prob. after 1619 (*circa* 1620, Fl.); pr. 1647.
9. T. C. **Island Princess.** Act. at Court, 1621; pr. 1647.
10. C. **Pilgrim.** Act. at Court, 1621; pr. 1647.
11. C. **Wild Goose Chase.** Act. at Court, 1621; pr. 1652.
12. C. **The Chances.** Act. 1621, Weber (1625-6, Fl.); pr. 1647.
13. C. **Woman's Prize.** Act. before 1623 (1612? Fl.); pr. 1647.
14. C. **Rule a Wife and Have a Wife.** Lic. Oct. 19, 1624; pr. 1647.
15. T. C. **A Wife for a Month.** Lic. May 27, 1624; pr. 1647.
16. C. **Humorous Lieutenant.** Act. before 1625 (1618-9, Fl.); pr. 1647.

II.—Ascribed to Fletcher by Dyce, 1843:—

17. C. **The Woman Hater.** "Lately acted" in 1607; pr. 1607—B. & F. (*N.S.S.*); B. (*Man.*); Fl.—B. & ? (*Eng. St.*); B. (*N.S.S.*); Boy.—"more accurately" B. (than F.); Bul.—B. & F. in two scenes; Ol.—B. only; Mac.
18. T. C. **Beggar's Bush.** Act. at Court, Xmas. 1622; pr. 1647.—F. & M.; Fl.—F. & M.; Boy.—F. & R. (or R. & Mid.), "M. not being clearly marked"; Bul.—orig. B., redone by F. & M.; Ol.
19. T. **Double Marriage.** Act. *circa* 1620 (Fl.); pr. 1647.—F. (*Man.*); F. & M. (*ix.*); Fl.—F. & M.; Boy.—F. & M.; Bul.—F. & M.; Ol.
20. T. **Knight of Malta.** Act. before 1619 (1618, Fl.); pr. 1647.—B. & F. (*N.S.S.*); F. & Mid. (*Man.*); F. & M. & Fd. (*xiii.*); Fl.—B. & F. & M.; Boy.—F. & M. & another (not B.); Bul.—F. & M. & Fd. & remains of an earlier play by ? B.; Ol.—B. & F.; Mac. and Ward.
21. T. C. **Prophetess.** Lic. May 14 1622; pr. 1647.—F. & M.; later, that these altered an old play, "Dioclesian"; Fl.

—F. & M.; BOY.—F. & M.; BUL.—F. & M. & bits of an old playwriter, unknown; OL.

22. T. C. **Sea Voyage.** Lic. June 22, 1622; pr. 1647.—F., altered by ? M.; FL.—F. & M.; BOY.—Nothing said by Bullen. —F. altered by M.; OL.

23. C. **Spanish Curate.** Lic. Oct. 24, 1622; pr. 1647.—F. & M.; BOY., BUL., FL., OL.

24. C. **Love's Cure.** Act. 1622-3 (WEB.), 1608 (FL., *ix.*, p. 14); pr. 1647.—B. & F. (*N.S.S.*); F. & Mid. & R. (*Man.*); B. & F., revised by M. (*ix.*); FL.—M. & ?; BOY.—prob. M. & Mid.: BUL.—B. altered by M. with ? presence of F.; OL.

25. C. **Elder Brother.** Act. after F.'s death, 1625; pr. 1637.—F. completed by M.; FL.—F. & M.; BOY., BULLEN, & OL.

26. C. **Fair Maid of the Inn.** Lic. June 22, 1626; pr. 1647.—F. & ? (*Man.*); later, F. & R., revised by M.; FL.—F. & M. (*vii.*); in *N.S.S.*, R. added; BOY.—M. & R. & (very little) F.; BUL.—B. & F. & M. & R.; OL.

27. T. C. **Custom of the Country.** "Old" in 1628 (*circa* 1620, FL.); pr. 1647.—F. (*Man.*); F. & M.; FL.—F. & M.; BOY., BUL. & OL.

III.—Attributed by Dyce to Beaumont and Fletcher :—

28. T. C. **Philaster.** Act. before 1611; pr. 1620.—B. only; MAC. All other critics say B. & F.

29. C. **Knight of the Burning Pestle.** Act. about 1611; pr. 1613; B. only; OL. & MAC. All the others, B. & F.

30. T. C. **A King no King.** Lic. 1611; pr. 1619.—All agree B. & F.

31. T. **Maid's Tragedy.** Act. before Oct. 31, 1611; pr. 1619.—All agree B. & F.

32. **Four Plays in One.** Act. prob. 1611 (1608, FL.); pr. 1647. OL. says B. & F. & Fd.; all the others B. & F.

33. C. **Scornful Lady.** Act. 1609-16 (1609, FL.); pr. 1616.—All agree B. & F.

34. T. **Cupid's Revenge.** Act. Jan., 1612; pr. 1615.—B. & F. (*Man.*); B. & F. altered by Fd. (*ix.*); FL.—B. & F. & ?. BOY.—B. & F.; BUL.—B. & F. & Fd. & M.; OL.—B. & F.; MAC.

35. C. **The Coxcomb.** Act. by Nov. 24, 1612 (1610-11, FL.); pr. 1647.—B. & F.; FL.—B. & F. altered by ?, who wrote most of existing play; BOY.—B. with "reminders of R.," and nothing of B. & F.'s style; BUL.—B. & F. & ?; OL. —B. & F.; MAC.

36. T. C. **The Captain.** Act. by May 20, 1613; pr. 1647.—B. & F. (*Man.*); J. & F. revised by ?; FL.—F. & B. & ? (*Eng. Stud.*); F. & M. & ? B. (*N.S.S.*); BOY.—B. & F. altered by M. & R.; OL.—F. & B. ?; MAC.

37. T. C. **Honest Man's Fortune.** Act. 1613; pr. 1647.—F. & ? (*Man.*); F. & M. & Fd. & D. (*ix.*); FL.—F. & B. & (*vii.*); B. & F. & M. & Tourneur (*viii.*); BOY.—F. & M.

& Fd.; Bul.—F. & M. & Fd. & ?; Ol.—F. & ? (not B.); Mac.

38. C. **Wit at Several Weapons.** Act. ?; (1623, Fl.); pr. 1647—B. & F. (*Man.*); Mid. & R. & F.; Fl.—F. & ?; Boy.—Reminded of Mid., or Mid. & R.; Bul.—B. & F. altered by Mid. & R.; Ol.—B. & F.; Mac. & Ward.

39. T. **Thierry and Theodoret.** Act. ?; (1617? Fl.); pr. 1621—B. & F. (*Man.*); F. & M. & ? (*ix.*); F. & M. & Fd. (*xiii.*); Fl.—F. & M. & D. & ? Fd.; Boy.—F. & M. & another; Bul.—Orig. B. & F., or B. only, revised 1617 by M., or M. & F.; Ol.—B. & F.; Mac.—F. & M.; Swinburne—B. & F.; Ward—F. only; Weber.

40. C. **Little French Lawyer.** Act. *circa* 1620 (Fl.); pr. 1647.—All agree F. & M. (including Swinburne).

41. T. C. **Laws of Candy.** *Circa* 1618–9? (Fl.); pr. 1647.—In *N.S.S.* could not trace B. or F.; F. & ? M. (*Man.*); ? F. & M. & Fd. (*ix.*); Fl.—? Shirley; Boy.—M. & (very little) F.; Bul.—Orig. B. & F., altered by M.; in present state B. & M. nearly equal portions; Ol.—F. & ? B.; Dyce—Nothing of B.; Mac.

IV.—Attributed by Dyce to Fletcher and another author, not Beaumont:—

42. T. **The False One.** Act. *circa* 1620 (Fl.); pr. 1647. F. & R.—Ward. All others agree F. & M.

43. C. **A Very Woman.** Lic. 1634; pr. 1655 (not in either folio).—Swinburne says M. only; Ol. F. & M. & ? All others F. & M. E. W. xi. p. 245.

44. T. **The Lover's Progress.** Act. 1625?; pr. 1647.—All agree F. & M.

45. T. C. **The Queen of Corinth.** Act. before 1619 (1617, Fl.); pr. 1647.—F. & R.; Dy.—F. & "Mid." (*Man.* in error for "Field," see *Eng. Stud., ix. p.* 22); F. & M. & Fd. (*ix.*); Fl.—F. & M. & ? Fd.; Boy.—F. & M. & Mid. & R.; Bul.—F. & M. & Fd.; Ol.

46. T. C. **Maid in the Mill.** Lic. Aug. 29, 1623; pr. 1647. All critics agree F. & R. This is settled by Sir H. Herbert's entry in "*Office Book.*"

47. T. **The Bloody Brother.** Act. after 1624; pr. 1639—F. & R.; Dy.—F. & ? (*Man.*); F. & M. & J. & Fd.; Fl.—F. & M. & Fd. & ? D.; Boy.—Orig. F. & J., revised by M.; Bul.—Orig. B.?, or rather some 16th century poet, rewritten 1614–15, by F. & J. & Mid., revised 1636 by M.; Ol.

48. C. **The Noble Gentleman.** Lic. Feb. 3, 1625–6; pr. 1647.—F. & Sh.; Dy. (after Web.)—F. & ? (*Man.*); F., finished after his death by R.; Fl.—Sh.?; Boy.—See nothing of F. "in this poor play"; Bul.—B. & F., written *circa* 1607; Ol.—Ward says F.

49. C. **The Night-Walker.** Act. May, 1633 (wr. *circa* 1614, Fl.);

pr. 1640.—F. & Sh. all critics agree. So stated by Herbert, "*Office Book.*"

50. T. C. **Love's Pilgrimage.** Act. after 1624? (1612, FL.); pr. 1647. —F. & Sh.; DY.—F. & Sh. (*Man.*); orig. F. & J. Altered by Sh. (*ix.*); FL.—F. & J. & Sh.; BOY.—Almost entirely F., some Sh.; BUL.—B. & F., altered by M. & J.; OL.

51. T. **Two Noble Kinsmen.** Act. first *circa* 1625 (FL.); pr. 1634. —F. & Shaks.; DY.—F. & Shaks. (*Man.*); F. & M. & ? (*ix.*); FL.—F. & M.; BOY.—F. & Shaks. & M.; BUL. —Orig., F. & Shaks., altered after F.'s death, by M.; OL.

52. C. **The Nice Valour.** Pr. 1647.—F. & ?; DY.—F. & ? (*Man.*); written 1613, by F. & ?, altered 1626 by ? Mid. (*ix.*); FL.—F., altered by R. after F.'s death; BOY.—"Strongly suggestive" of Mid., songs by F.; BUL.—Orig. B., revised 1613–14 by F., rewritten 1626? after F.'s death by Mid.; OL.

53. **Henry VIII.** Pr. 1623, folio Shaks. F. & M. & Shaks.; FL.—F. & M. ?; BOY.—Appears to be F. & M., with some Shaks. scenes incorporated; BUL.—F. & M. & Shaks.; OL.

54. T. **Sir John van Olden Barnaveldt.** Acted Aug. 19, 1619, soon after Barnaveldt's execution; first printed by A. H. Bullen in *Old English Plays*, II. Modern critics agree F. & M.

55. T. C. **Faithful Friends.** Pr. first by Weber, 1812, from MS. Dyce doubted its authenticity.—Fd. & D.; FL.—Shir.; BOY.—"Nothing of B. or F."; BUL.—B. & F. (wr. 1604?), altered 1613–14 by M. & Fd.; OL.

LOST PLAYS.

T. C. Cardenio. Ent. on Stat. books Sept. 9, 1653, as by F. & Shaks. (Warburton's cook destroyed a copy.)

The Jeweller of Amsterdam. Ent. on Stat. books Ap. 8, 1654, by F. & Fd. & M.

FORMAN, DR. SIMON. 1552—1611. Astrologer and Quack Doctor.

Wood (Bl.) II. 98-105. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (S. Lee) full.

1591.—**The Grounds of Longitude** (the only work pr. by him, as far as known). He is now only known for **The Bocke of Plaies and notes thereof per Formans, for common pollicie.** This gives the first known accounts of the acting of Macbeth, 1610; W. Tale, 1611; and Cymbeline. Collier, 1836, in *New Particulars*, pp. 6-26, first printed the passages relating to Shak. Halliwell, *Folio Shakespeare*, 1853-65, gave facsimiles. Forman's **Diary from 1552–1602, with an account of his life.** was pr. by Halliwell, 1843, for *Camden Soc.* (16 copies), and

also privately issued in 1849 (105 copies). The Ashmole MS. 802, which contains these, has also (unprinted) astrological and alchemical notes, letters, verses, etc.

FOXE, JOHN. 1516—1587. Martyrologist.

LIFE.—1870.—Rev. Josiah Pratt, Vol. I. of *Reformation series of Church Historians* of England. The earliest Life, attributed to his son, Samuel, was prefixed to Vol. II. of 1641 ed. of the "Acts." It is not reliable. Strype *passim* is the best authority. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* XX. 141-50 (S. L. Lee) full, with references. E. W. viii. 158-9; 203-5.

WORKS.—Lists given in Bale (who mentions about 25, several not printed); Tanner, 294-7; Wood (Bl.) I. 528-34, a full account. *The following list is incomplete.*

1. The Acts and Monuments.

(a) LATIN EDITIONS.

1554.—Strasburg. 8°. 212 l. The first issue, brought down to 1500, usually called **Commentarii rerum in ecclesia gestarum**, etc.; other copies **Chronicon Ecclesiae continens historiam rerum**, etc. E. W. viii. 159.

1559.—Basel. fol. pr. by Oporinus. **Rerum in ecclesia gestarum, Pars prima**; brought down nearly to end of Mary's reign; 732 pp.; 6 Books; Bk. I. embodied 1554 ed. In 1562, Oporinus issued Pt. II. of a Latin Continuation, by Hy. Pantaleone, of Zurich, dealing with Continental persecutions. It appeared the same day as the 1st Eng. ed.

(b) ENGLISH EDITIONS. E. W. viii. 203-4.

1562.—March 20, London. fol.; pr. John Day. **Actes and Monuments.** 2nd ed. 1570, 2 vols., I. pp. 934; II. pp. 1378. Other ed. 1576, '83, '96, 1610, '32, '41 (with memoir), '84. B. M. has a complete set of these 9 early folio ed. Modern ed. 1837-41 (revised 1844-9) 8 vols., ed. Canon Townsend (text not reliable); 1877, 8 vols. ed. Dr. Stoughton. Often abridged; first by Tim. Bright, 1589.

N.B.—Works impugning Foxe's accuracy are numerous. 1566, *Sex Dialogi* (Nich. Harpsfield); 1603, *Treatise of the Three Conversions of England* (Rob. Parsons). Modern works by Dr. John Milner (a R. Cath. Bishop, d. 1826); Geo. Leo Haydock; W. E. Andrews (*Examination of Foxe's Calendar*, 1826). S. R. Maitland, D.D. Librarian at Lambeth Lib. (d. 1866) issued a series of scholarly pamphlets 1837-42.

2. 1556.—Basel; pr. Oporinus; **Christus Triumphans**, a rather tedious Latin mystery play in 5 acts. Orig. MS. *Lansdowne*, 1073. Trans. into French 1562; and into Eng. by John Day (ed. 1578, '9, and 1607). Reissued as a school book, on account of the style (!), 1672 and '77.

3. 1571.—Foxe edited the A. S. Gospels for Archbishop Parker (pr. John Day). E. W. viii. 205.

FRAUNCE, ABRAHAM. fl. 1587—1633. Hexameter Poet, and Prose Writer.

Athen. Cantab. II. 119-120, and Hazlitt, *Handbook*, p. 211-2 give titles in full. (H. omits No. 1.) Corser VI. 370-7.

POEMS (all 1st ed. 4°).

1. 1587.—**The Lamentations of Amintas for the death of Phillis**: *Paraphrastically translated out of Latine into English.* Trans. from Thos. Watson's *Amyntas*, in "Hexameteres"; eleven eclogues or "days." Repr. 1588, '89 and '96. (1587 ed., Bodl.). *Anglia* xi. 1-38 (E. Koepper). E. W. ix. 153.
2. 1591.—**The Countesse of Pembrokes Iuychurch** (*Ivy Church*, a seat of E. Pembroke in Wales). Pt. I., *Amyntas Pastorall* (a play with acts and scenes) is a trans. of Tasso's "Aminta"; Pt. II., *Phillis Funerall*, in 12 eclogues or "days," is No. 1 reissued, Eclogue 11 being divided into two, and 16 lines added. (Corser VI. p. 371-2.) There follow: 1. *The Lamentation of Corydon* (Vergil, Ecl. II., "verse for verse"), repr. from "Lawiers Logike" (1588, see PROSE); 2. *The Beginning of Heliodorus his Aethiopicall history.* All in hexameters. B. M. (3 copies).
3. 1591.—**The Countesse of Pembrokes Emanuell**: *Conteining the Natiuity, Passion, Buriall and Resurrection of Christ, togeather with certaine* (*i.e.* 8) *Psalmes of Dauid.* All in in hexameter. B. M., 3 copies. Repr. Grosart, *Fuller's Worth. Misc.* III. 1871.
4. 1592.—**The third Part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Iuychurch, entituled Amintas Dale** (prose and verse, hexameters). B. M., 2 copies; one perfect (unique). A kind of "Metamorphosis" (after Ovid and others) with prose comments. See Corser VI. 374-6.

PROSE.

i. 1588.—4° B.L. **The lawiers logike.** B. M., 4 copies. N.B.—The *Sheapheardes Logike*, a folio MS which belonged to Heber, is the same work (some variations) with another title.

ii. 1588.—8°. **The Arcadian rhetorike.** Bodl. (This work quotes the *Faerie Queene*, pub. 1590, then in MS.)

iii. 1588.—4°. **Insignium, Armorum, Emblematum, . . . explicatio.** B. M. (Orig. MS. *Rawl. poet.* 85, Bodl.).

FULKE, WM., D.D. 1538—1589. Puritan Divine and Controversialist.

Athen. Cantab. II. 57-61, gives a list of 32 publications, with full titles. These are chiefly sermons and controversial works in defence of Protestantism, against Rome. Very full references at end. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (Canon Venables) repeats much of this, making the biography more full. Tanner gives a list of 26 works. E. W. viii. 288.

I Astrological and Scientific (early) Works.

1560, **Almanack and Prognostication**—1560, **Antiprognosticon** (against useless astrological predictions)—1563, etc., **A Goodly Gallerye** showing the natural causes of all kinds of meteors, blasing stones, etc., etc.—1571, Οὐρανομαχία, *hoc est astrologicum ludus* — 1578, Μετρομαχία, *sive Ludus geometricus.*

II. Religious and Controversial.

1843 *Parker Soc.* repr. **A Defence of the sincere and true Translations of the holie Scriptures,** 1583; and in 1848 (ed. Rev. Rich. Gibbings) two works, **T. Stapleton and Martiall (two Popish Heretikes) confuted,** 1580; and **A Discovery of the dangerous Rock of the Popish Church.**

GAGER, WM. fl. 1580—1619. Latin Dramatist.

Wood (Bl.) II. 87-89; a good account, followed in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* Besides Latin verse on almost all occasions during his Oxford life, G. pub. 1592 his plays, **Meleager** (B. M.) **and Ulysses Redux.** Addit. MS. 22,583 B.M. contains a number of his works. MS. Royal A. lix. contains a Latin poem, **Piramus,** dated Nov. 5. 1605. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 218.

GASCOIGNE, GEORGE. 1525 ? —1577. Poet.

Athen. Cantab. I. 374-8; and 565-6. Hunter *Chorus Vatum,* Addit. MS. 24,487 ff. 448-60 (excellent). Arber *Reprints, infra.* pp. 3-10 very careful. G. Whetstone's *Remembraunce . . . of G. C.* (50 6-line verses), is repr. in Arber *Reprint;* in Chalmers' *Poets* II. 457-466, etc. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 308-9. Corser VI. 420-57. *Dict of Nat. Biog.* (S. L. Lee). E. W. viii. 261-283.

Works.—(E. W. viii. 275.)

(*a*)—**Poems.** 1869-70. 2 vols. 4°. *Roxburghe Club* (W. C. Hazlitt); preface pp. v-xxx, portrait, and facsimile of title-pages.

(*b*) 1572.—**A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres bounde up in one Small Poesie.** B. M., Bodl. etc. An incorrect ed. issued while G. was in Holland.

(*c*) 1575.—**The Posies of George Gascoigne, Esquire.** *Corrected, perfected, and augmented by the Authour.* B. M.; Bodl. (Gab. Harvey's Copy); Britwell.

(*d*) 1587.—**The whole workes of G. C. . . . Newly compiled in one Volume.** B. M. Other copies are called **The Pleasauntest Workes of G. C.**

Chalmers' *Poets* II.; Sandford's *British Poets* has select poems; also Rob. Southey's *Select Works of Br. Poets.*

VERSE.

1. 1572.—**The fruites of Warre,** *written uppon this Theame, Dulce Bellum inexpertis* (208 7-line decasyllabic stanzas, and envoy).
2. 1572.—**Gascoignes voyage into Holland.** (324 lines of decasyll. verse.) G. sailed March 19, 1572; returned 1575.
3. 1576.—**The Steele Glas.** *A Satyre* (Blank Verse), together with **The complaynt of Philomene.** B. M. His first poetic work, begun spring of 1562. W. Raleigh's first pub. verse appeared in the Commend. verses. Repr. Arber *Reprints*, together with Whetstone's *Remembraunce* and PROSE, No. 2 *infra*.
4. 1576.—**The princelye pleasures at the Courte at Kenelworth,** July 9-27, 1575. B. M. Prose and Verse; pub. with the similar work of G. Ferrers, Hy. Goldingham, and Wm. Hunnis. Repr. 1821; and in appendix to Adlard's *Amye Robsart*, 1870; also in Nichols' *Progresses of Q. Eliz.*
5. 1869-70.—Hazlitt printed **The Grief of Joye.** *Certeyne Elegies: wherein the doubtfull delightes of mannes lyfe are displaied.* (B. M., Reg. MS. 18 A. 61, p. 275, is Gascoigne's MS. presentation copy for Q. Elizabeth, presented Jan. 1, 1577.)
6. Scattered verses. 1566 (his first pub. verse), a sonnet prefixed to C. Holyband's *French Littleton* (a book for teaching French). 1575, 58 lines in G. Turberville's *Noble Arte of Venerie* (N.B. Hazlitt attrib. to and prints as by G. 11 other pieces of verse in the volume). 1576, verse prefixed to Bedingfield's trans. of H. C. Cardanus' *Comfort* (1st ed. 1573). 1576, A "Propheticall Sonnet" (and an Epistle to the Reader, in prose) before Sir H. Gilbert's *Discourse*, which he edited. 1578-'80, 8 pieces in *Paradyse of Daynty Devises* (7 in 1578 ed.; 1 in 1580); attrib. by Hazlitt, who prints them.

DRAMA.

1. **The Supposes.** Acted Gray's Inn, 1566, a trans. of Ariosto's *Gli Suppositi*, 1525: our earliest English prose play. Pr. in the collected editions of 1572, '75, and '87.
2. **Jocasta.** Acted Gray's Inn, 1566. (An adaptation of Euripides' *Phoenissae*.) F. Kinwelmarsh contrib. Acts I. and IV. The second blank-verse drama, and first known attempt to represent a Greek play on the English stage. Pr. as No. 1 *supra*. (Autograph MS. among Guilford MSS.).
3. 1575.—**The Glasse of Gouernement,** *a tragicall Comedie.* B. M., etc. Chiefly prose. (But 8 pieces of verse: Prologue, Epil., 4 Choruses, and 2 didactic poems in Act. III. Sc. vi.) E. W. viii. 276. *Anglia* ix. 201-9 (Prof. Herford).

PROSE.

i. 1572.—**The Adventures of F(erdinando) I(eronimi).** A tale (with a few lyrics), trans. from Bandello; pr. in "Works" (*b*) *supra* and repr. in 1575 and '87 ed.

ii. 1575.—**Certayne notes of Instruction** *concerning the making of verse or ryme in English;* pr. as Pt. IV. of (*c*) *supra*.

Repr. 1587; 1815, *Ancient Critical Essays* (J. Haslewood), II. 1-12; and 1868 Arber *Reprints* (with "Steele Glas," etc.).

iii. 1576.—**The Droome of Doomes Day.** B. M. Trans. from Latin of Lothario Conti (Innocent III., b. 1160, d. 1216), *De miseria humanae conditionis.* See Brydges *Restituta* IV. 299-307.

iv. 1576.—**A delicate Diet for daintie mouthde Droonkardes.** Repr. 1789 (F. G. Waldron); and 1792, in *Literary Museum* (ditto).

v. 1579.—**Tale of Hemetes The heremyte,** *pronounced before the Queen at Woodstock* (Sept. 11, 1575). Wr. in Eng., French, Latin, and Italian, with a verse "Epilogismus." First pr. as if by Abr. Fleming, annexed to his vol., *The Paradoxe.* Repr. 1585 with Gascoigne's name, and in Hazlitt's ed. 1869. (MS. Reg. 18 A. 49, p. 27, B. M., has Gascoigne's autograph copy with a drawing of him presenting it to the Queen, Jan. 1, 1576.)

Attributed to (wrongly so).

1. *The wyll of the Deuyll: with his ten detestable comaundementes,* etc. Pr. [n. d.]. See Lowndes, p. 867. (An attack on R. Cathol., wr. *ante* 1550.) Repr. Collier, *Illust. of Early Eng. Popular Lit.* I 1863; and in 1821 and '71.

2 [1577 ?].—*The Spoyle of Antwerpe.* B. M. Repr. by Rich. Simpson, *School of Shakespeare,* Pt. 1, 1872, as by G., and so assigned in B. M. Cat. G. died October, 1577, was an invalid in late life, and could hardly have been present, as the writer says he was, in Nov., 1576, at the sack of Antwerp.

GIFFORD, HUMPHREY. fl. 1580. Poet.

1580—82 l. **A Posie of Gilloflowers** (*sic* Grosart). B. M. unique. E. W. ix. 167-71, full title and description. Pt. I. prose, chiefly trans. from Italian; Pt. II. chiefly original verse. Repr. of "Poems" (with selections of prose) by Grosart, *Full. Worth. Lib. Miscell.* I. 1870; and "The Complete poems and translations in prose." Grosart, *Occas. Issues.* 1875.

GILBERT, SIR HUMPHREY. 1539?—1583. Navigator.

Sir Geo. Peckam's *True Report of the New-found Landes,* etc., 1583, pr. in Hakluyt's Collections (e.g. 1809, ed.), gives an account of G.'s last voyage June—Sept. 9, 1583. See also Fox Bourne, *Eng. Seamen under the Tudors. Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (C. H. Coote), a good article with references. Collier *Bibl. Cat.* I. 310, describes No. 1 *infra.*

1. 1576.—**A Discourse of a . . . new Passage to Cataia.** B. M. ed. with additions by Geo. Gascoigne (q.v.). Wr. winter of 1574, when Gascoigne was visiting Sir H. G. Repr. Cassell's *National Lib.,* No. 35.

2. 1577.—**A Discourse How her Majesty might annoy the King of Spain,** by fitting out a fleet, etc. State Papers, *Domestic Series* CXVIII. 12.
3. **The Erection of Q. Elizabethes Achademy** *in London for education of . . . youths . . . and gentlemen.* Pr. 1869 by Dr. Furnivall, *E. Eng. Text Soc.*, Extra Series No. VIII.

GOLDING, ARTHUR. 1536?—1605? Translator.

Athen. Cantab. II. 431-4 and 555. Hunter, *Chorus Vatum.* (Addit. M.S. 24,488 ff. 435, etc.) Corser VII. 9-17. Collier *Bibl. Cat.* I. 315-7. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (S. L. Lee).

1. 1565.—**The Eyght bookes of C. J. Cæsar.** B. M. Repr. 1590, B. M. (Our second trans.); J. Tiptoft's (1530).
2. (*a*) 1565.—**The Fyrst Fower Bookes of the Metamorphoses.** (*b*) 1567.—**The XV. Bookes of P. Ovidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphoses.** In ballad metre, usually 14 syll. Our first trans. of Ovid. (B. M.) E. W. viii. 221-3.
3. 1578.—**Seneca, de Beneficiis.** B. M.
Cooper (*Athen. Cantab.* and *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*) gives 25 other works, besides references to *Harl. MSS.* These works are chiefly on religious subjects; trans. of Calvin's sermons and Commentaries; of Beza, etc., and include *A woorke concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion begunne to be translated . . . by Sir Ph. Sidney . . . and at his request finished by Arthur Golding.* 1589. Others deal with contemporary events, English and French. *e.g.* E. W. ix. 59-60.

GOOGE, BARNABE. 1540—1594. Poet and Translator.

E. W. ix. 21-30. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 318-20, and II. 88-93.

POEMS.

1563.—**Eglogs** (8); **Epytaphes** (4); **and** (numerous) **Sonnets.** 3 copies known. E. W. ix. 23-29. Arber *Reprints*, 1871.

TRANSLATIONS.

1. 1560.—**The First thre Bokes of the most Christian poet Marcellus Palingenius**; 1561, 6 Bks.; 1565, all 12 Bks., re-issued 1576 and '88. All in B. M.
2. 1570.—**The Popish Kingdome** *or Reigne of Antichrist . . . by Thos. Naogeorgus* (i.e. Kirchmayer: E. W. ix. 29, note). B. M. Bk. IV. is valuable for manners and customs. Repr. and ed. 1880, by Rob. Ch. Hope.
3. 1577.—**Foure bookes of Husbandrie**; *collected by Conradus Heresbachius . . . englyshed and increased* by B. G.—(B. M.) Repr. 1578, '86, '94, etc.
4. 1579.—**The Proverbes of the noble and woorthy Souldier Sir James Lopes de Mendoza,** etc. B. M.

N.B.—In 1579 Googe prefixed a prose epistle to Barnabe Riche's *Allarme to England.*

GOSSON, STEPHEN. 1555—1624. Controversalist and Dramatist.

Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 320-4. Arber *Reprint* of No. i. *infra.*

PROSE.

i. 1579 (entered *Stat. Reg.* July 22).—**The Schoole of Abuse,** B. M. Repr. 1587, B. M.; and in *Somers' Tracts,* 1810, Vol. III. 552-74 (ed. Sir W. Scott); 1841, *Shak. Soc.,* with Thos. Heywood's *Apology for Actors* (ed. Collier); 1868, Arber *Reprints.*

ii. 1579 (entered *Stat. Reg.* Nov. 7).—**Ephemerides of Phialo,** in 3 Books, B.M. At the end is **A Short Apologie of the Schoole of Abuse,** being an answer to *Strange Newes out of Affrick,* which had been issued in reply to *supra.* Repr. i. 1586, B. M. Arber repr. the Apologie, 12 pp., after i. *supra.*

iii. [1582 ?] n.d.—**Playes confuted in five actions.** An answer to Th. Lodge, and the *Play of Playes.* Bodl., 2 copies, both imperf. (Ent. *Stat. Reg.* Ap. 16, 1582.)

iv. [1598 ?]—**The Trumpet of Warre.** A sermon of May 7, 1598. B. M. Repr. *Roxburghe Club,* 1868 (ed. Hazlitt). See *infra,* and Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 323.

VERSE.

1576.—6 11-line verses in H. Kerton's *Mirror of Mans lyfe.* 1578, 6 6-line verses, and 12 lines of Latin verse in Th. Nicholas' *Conquest of Weast India;* and 1578, commendatory verses in Florio's *First Fruites.* See Arber *Reprint,* pp. 76-8.

1595.—**Pleasant Quippes for Vpstart Newfangled Gentlewomen.** An anonymous coarse satire, ascribed to G., as a presentation copy of the 1596 ed. bears his name. Repr. 1841 (ed. E. F. Rimbault), for *Percy Soc.,* but withdrawn from the press; and privately in 1847 with portions of the "Trump of Warre." B. M.

LOST WORKS.

2. Several plays, mentioned in "Schoole of Abuse;" *Catilines Conspiracies; Capt. Mario; Praise at Parting.*

GRANGE, JOHN. fl. 1577.

1577.—**The Golden Aphroditis.** B. M. Full title, E. W. ix. 153-4. A love tale, chiefly prose; verse in various metres interspersed. Corser VII. 44-52.

GREENE, ROBERT. 1560?—1592. Dramatist and Romance Writer.

Storojenko's and Dyce's "Lives," *infra.* *Athen. Cantab.* II. 127-135 (gives list of 54 (!) works by Gr. or attrib. to him). *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (Bullen). Corser VII. 52-100 (11 works described, and some not by Greene). Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 328-39. J. A. Symonds' *Predecessors of Shak.* 537-93

(1884 ed.). J. J. Jusserand, *The Eng. Novel in the Time of Elizabeth*, 150-192. W. Bernhardi, *R. Gr.'s Leben und Schriften*.

Life and Complete works of Rob. Greene (prose and verse), ed. Grosart, 1881-6. 15 vols., with notes and illustrations. Vol. I. contains Prof. Storojenko's "Life," trans. from Russian by E. A. B. Hodgetts, pp. 256; and Grosart's Introd. pp. ix-lxxxvii.

DRAMA. E. W. x. 30-5, and 83-93.

(*a*) Written alone—

1. 1594.—**Frier Bacon and Frier Bongay.** B. M.; Bodl. Repr. '99, 1630, '55. An excellent ed. *Clar. Press*; 3rd ed. 1892.
2. 1594.—**The Historie of Orlando Furioso.** B. M.
3. 1598.—**The Scottish Historie of James the Fourth.** Huth Library (unique). Registered May 14, 1594. (*Arber* II. 648.)
4. 1599.—**The Comicall Historie of Alphonsus, King of Arragon.** Devonshire Lib. (unique).
5. 1599—**George-a-Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield.** Devonshire Lib. (unique). Grosart facsimiles the title-page, with the important MS. notes which led to this play being attrib. to Greene.

(*b*) With others—

1594.—**A Looking glasse for London and England.** With Lodge. Devonshire Lib. Repr. 1598, 1602, and '17.

(*c*) Attributed to Greene. (See Grosart.)

1594.—**Selimus Emperor of the Turkes.** Devonshire Lib.

VERSE.

1. 1581.—**Youthe seinge all his wais so Troublesome,** etc.; a ballad. Ent. *Stat. Reg.* Mar. 20 (*Arber* II. 391). Lost.
2. 1591.—**A Maidens Dream.** Lambeth Lib. (unique). A poem on the death of Sir Chr. Hatton. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 328-31.

N.B.—The Romances, etc., abound in verse.

PROSE.

NOTE.—The dates of the first *existing* editions sometimes differ materially from those given below. For the evidence as to date see Grosart; also Arber's reprint of "Menaphon."

I. 15 Love Pamphlets—

i. [1580].—**Mamillia,** *a Mirrour or looking glasse for the Ladies of England.* Bodl., prob. unique (Greene's first printed work), 1583. **Mamillia. The second part** *of the Triumph of Pallas* (3 copies known).

ii. 1584.—**The Mirrour of Modestie.** (Full title E. W. ix. 221.) B. M., unique.

iii. 1584.—**Gwidonius.** *The Carde of Fancie.* Hy. Pyne, Esq.

iv. 1584.—**Arbasto.** *The Anatomie of Fortune.* 2 copies, both imperfect, make up the complete work.

v. 1585.—**Planetomachia** (love tales and astrological fancies).

vi. 1586.—**Morando.** *The Tritameron of Love.* 1587, a new ed. with a Second Part. B. M.

vii. 1587.—**Penelopes Web.** Bodl.
viii. 1587.—**Euphues his censure to Philautus.**
ix. 1588.—**Perimides, the Blacksmith.** (Love tales, largely from Boccaccio.)
x. 1588.—**Pandosto,** *The Triumph of Time.*
xi. 1588.—**Alcida.** *Greenes Metamorphosis.* Huth Lib.
xii. 1589.—**Menaphon.** *Camillas alarum to slumbering Euphues,* etc. B.M. A brief pastoral romance of the "Arcadia" type. Repr. Arber, *Eng. Schol. Lib.* No. 12, with valuable chronological list of the works of Greene, G. Harvey, and Th. Nash on pp. vi-x.
xiii. 1589.—**Ciceronis Amor,** *Tullies Love.* Huth Library, prob. unique. 1616 ed. in Bodl. and Dyce Collection (Kensington).
xiv. 1590.—**Orpharion.**
xv. 1592.—**Philomela.** Bodl., prob. unique.

II. Social.

(*a*) Of a general character—
xvi. 1589.—**Spanish Masquerado.** A patriotic pamphlet at the time of the Armada.
xvii. 1590.—**The Royal Exchange.** *Containing sundry Aphorismes . . . and golden principles.* (From the Italian.)
xviii. 1592.—**A Quip for an Upstart Courtier.** (This is not only against G. Harvey, but against all upstarts and parvenus.)
(*b*) "Coney-catching" pamphlets—
xix. 1591.—**A notable Discovery of Coosnage.** (Registered as *The Art of Connye katchinge.*)
xx. 1591.—**The Second Part of Couny-catchyng.**
xxi. 1592.—**The Third and last Part of Conny-catching.**
xxii. 1592.—**A Disputation betweene a Hee Conny Catcher and a Shee Conny catcher.** (Attrib. to Greene.)
xxiii. 1592.—**The Blacke Bookes Messenger.** *Laying open the Life and Death of Ned Browne* (an account of a Cony-Catcher, and his speech on the scaffold).

III. "Repentances"—

xxiv. 1590.—**Never too late**; *or, A Powder of Experience.*
xxv. 1590. **Francescos Fortunes.** Or the second Part of *Never too Late.*
xxvi. 1590.—Greene's **Mourning Garment**: *given him by Repentance at the Funerals of Love.*
xxvii. 1591.—**Farewell to Follie.**
xxviii. 1592.—**Groatsworth of Witte.**
xxix. 1592—**Repentance of Rob. Greene.** Pr. after G.'s death.
xxx. 1592.—**Greenes Vision.** " "

The *Defence of Conny catching,* 1592, has sometimes been attrib. to Greene. Bullen, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.,* supports this.

N.B.—This classification has been adopted for convenience, but no hard and fast lines can be drawn—*e.g.* "The Groatsworth of Wit" is also a love pamphlet, etc.

GREVILLE, SIR FULKE (First Lord Brooke). 1554—1628. Poet.

Wood (Bl.) II. 429–34. Walpole's *Noble Authors* (Park) II. 220–37. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (S. Lee). E. W. ix. 149-52.

WORKS.

1870.—*Fuller's Worthies Lib.* 4 vols. ed. Grosart (with Introduction), contains all the extant works.

(*a*) 1633.—**Certaine learned and elegant Workes.** B. M., 3 copies. This contains *A Treatie of Humane learning; An Inquisition upon Fame and Honour; A Treatie of Warres*; Two Tragedies—*Alaham, and Mustapha; Cælica*, (109 sonnets); and two prose letters. Pp: 1-22 are missing, and are supposed to have contained a *Treatise on Religion*, cancelled by Archb. Laud. Lamb's *Specimens* gives extracts from both tragedies.

(*b*) 1670.—**Remains of Sir Fulk Greville, Lord Brooke,** pp. 205, B. M., "being poems of Monarchy and Religion. Never before printed."

SEPARATE WORKS.

A. Printed during his life.

1. Scattered verses—1593, in *Phoenix Nest*, an "elegy" on Sidney; 1600, in Bodenham's *Belvedere*, a poem; 1600, in *Eng. Helicon*, two poems.

2. 1609.—**Mustapha,** a tragedy, B. M. (a fragment only; prob. a surreptitious ed.). Repr. 1744 in Dodsley's *Select Collection.*

B. Printed after his death.

1652.—**Life of Sir Ph. Sidney.** pp. 247. B. M., 4 copies. Repr. *Lee Priory Press* (S. E. Brydges), 1816. 2 vols.

GREY, ARTHUR. 1536—1593. Statesman.

A Commentary of the Services and Charges of Wm. lord Grey de Wilton. Incorporated in *Holinshed.* Repr. *Camden Soc.* 1847. See E. W. ix. 93 and Note.

GRIFFIN, BARTHOLOMEW. d. 1602. Poet.

1596.—**Fidessa, more chaste then kinde.** (62 sonnets.) Three copies known; Bodl., Huth, and Lamport. E. W. x. 479-80. Repr. 1815 *Chiswick Press*, 100 copies; and Grosart's *Occas. Issues* Vol. II. 1876, with Introduction. (50 copies.) See also Introd. to *Passionate Pilgrim*, Shakspere 4° facsimiles No. X. 1883, pp. xii—xiii and xx. (Prof. Dowden.)

GRIMALD (GRIMALDE OR GRIMOALD), NICHOLAS. 1519—1562. Poet, etc.

Wood (Bl.) I. 407-11. *Athen. Cantab.* I. 230-1. Bale *De Scriptor. Anglor.* Tanner, p. 344. Rev. A. B. Grimaldi's *Chrono-*

logical Catalogue of Printed Books, etc., by writers of the name of Grimaldi, from 1498-1883. Pp. 127. (Privately printed, 1883. B. M.) *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (S. L. Lee).

1557.—In *Tottel's Miscellany*, 1st ed. (June 5), 40 signed poems—same number as Surrey. 2nd ed. (July 31), 30 poems suppressed, and the 10 remaining have only the initials. For other works, see references *supra.*

GROVE, MATTHEW. fl. 1587. Poet.

1587.—**The most famous and tragicall Historie of Pelops and Hippodamia** (full title E. W. ix. 171-2). Unique copy, Ellesmere Lib. Repr. Grosart's *Occas. Issues*, 1878. See Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 342-5.

GUEST (GHEAST or GESTE), EDMUND. 1518—77. Bishop of Salisbury.

LIFE, by Hy. Gheast Dugdale, 1840, gives all information. In the Appendices at the end, six of his works—all theological—are given. Miss E. T. Bradley, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, gives a careful summary. E. W. viii. 197-8.

Guest's **Translation of the Psalms**, in the *Bishops' Bible*, 1568, is still in use in the Eng. Church Prayer-book.

GUILPIN, EDWARD. fl. 1598. Poet.

E. W. x. 409-10. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 345-7.

1598.—**Skialetheia**, *or, a Shadowe of Truth, in certaine Epigrams* (70), *and Satyres* (7). B. M., Bodl. Repr. 1843, *Beldornie Press* (E. V. Utterson). 1870 ed. Collier. 1878, Grosart's *Occas. Issues*, with introd. and notes.

HADDON, WALTER. 1516—1572. Scholar, Poet, Controversialist.

Dict. of Nat. Biog. (Thompson Cooper), XXIII. 429-32, gives a good account, with copious references, and list of 11 works. B. M. has the first editions (usually the only ones, as his works were not reprinted) of most, including the Latin poems of 1567 and '76. The translation of his **Responsio contra Hieron. Osorium** (finished by J. Foxe), was repr. 1812, in Vol. VIII. of *Fathers of the English Church* (ed. Rev. Legh Richmond).

HAKLUYT, RICHARD. 1552?—1616. Geographer.

Wood (Bl.) II. 186. *Biog. Brit.* (by Wm. Oldys). *Ency. Brit.*, 9th ed. (C. H. Coote). Introd. to *Hakluyt Soc.*, reprint of

No. 1 *infra* (J. Winter Jones). 1850. (A list of the *Hakluyt Soc.* publications is in Lowndes' *Manual*, Appendix, pp. 79—81.)

Hakluyt's principal works are :

1. 1582.—**Divers voyages touching . . . America** (full title E. W. ix. 193.)
2. 1587.—**Four Voyages made by certain French Captains into Florida.** B. M. A trans. from French.
3. 1589.—**The Principall Navigations, Voiages,** etc. (full title E. W. ix. 193). This was the germ of his great work, pub. 1598-1600, 3 vols. sm. fol. Repr. of the latter modernised, 1809-12 in 5 vols. ; and 1884 (E. M. Goldsmid).
4. 1609.—**Virginia richly valued.** His last publication ; a trans. from the Portuguese of Ferd. de Soto. Repr. 1815 ; ed. P. Force ; and 1851, ed. W. B. Rye.
5. 1877.—**Discourse concerning Western Discoveries,** wr. 1584 ; pr. *Maine Historical Soc.* (E. W. ix. 193).

N.B.—Purchas incorporated some of H.'s MS. in his *Pilgrimes.*

HALL, ARTHUR. *circa* 1540-1604. Translator.

Athen. Cantab. II. 39-79, with full references. Corser VII. 105-8. *Retrospective Review*, III. 167. *Restituta*, IV. 512. Hooper's ed. of Chapman's "Homer," p. xxxii.

1581.—**Ten Books of Homers Iliades translated out of French.** B. M. (imperf.). The first attempt to English Homer : 14-syllable verse : begun 1563. The copy of Hugues Salel's French version (10 Books, Paris, 1555), used by Hall, is in B. M., with H.'s autograph and date 1556.

N.B.—For particulars of the history of **A letter . . . touching . . . a private quarell . . . between Arthur Hall and Melchisideck Mallerie.** (B. M., Grenville ; n.d. [1579]), see *Athen. Cantab.*, or *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* Repr., *Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana*, I. 1815 (Rob. Triphook). Verses on the New Year, 1558-9, are in State Paper office MS. (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1547-80, p. 120); and Royal MS. 18, A 75 (B. M.), contains a *Treatise of Transportable Commodities*, etc.

HALL, JOSEPH. 1574-1656. Bishop of Norwich.

LIFE of Joseph Hall, D.D., 1886 (Rev. Geo. Lewis). Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, 1839, Vol. IV. *Bishop Hall, his life and times*, 1826 (Rev. John Jones).

WORKS.

1863.—10 vols. Oxford (Rev. Phil. Wynter). 1837-9, 12 vols. Oxford (ed. Peter Hall, a descendant of the Bp.). 1808, 10 vols., the first complete ed. with Life (Rev. Josiah Pratt). Various early folio editions, 1621, '25, and '34, etc.

POEMS.

1824—ed. S. W. Singer. 1851, Collier in *Gentleman's Magazine*, I. 235-9, gave "Newly discovered poems." 1879, Grosart edited the complete poems. Chalmers' *Poets*, V. 221-86, contains a "Life," the Satires, and a few other poems.

1. 1597.—**Virgidemiarvm, Sixe Books.** *First three Bookes, of Toothlesse Satyrs* (B. M.), 1598, *The three last Bookes. Of byting Satyres.* Repr. 1599 and 1602. (All six Books.)
2. 1603.—**The Kings Prophecie**: *or, Weeping Joy.* A welcome to James I. Hall's last vol. of verse. B. M. (imperf.); one of 2 existing copies; Repr. *Roxburghe Club*, 1882, ed. Rev. W. E. Buckley. See Corser VII. 130-5.

N.B. 1596.—Hall contrib. an English poem to a vol. of "Elegies" on Dr. Wm. Whitaker; and 1600, an Elegy and Epitaph on Sir Horatio Pallavicino, to *An Italians dead Bodie stucke with English Flowers.* (Lambeth Lib.)

PROSE.

1605.—**Mundus alter et Idem.** 4 Bks. of Latin; pr. at Frankfort; repr. 1607, and trans. 1608, by John Healey, as *The Discovery of a New World.* Eng. trans. of a portion is in Morley's *Universal Library*, Vol. xxiii. 1885.

For the theological writings, see "Works," *supra.* The editions of some of the devotional writings have been frequent.

HARMAN, THOMAS. fl. 1567. Writer on Beggars.

A Caueat or Warening for commen Cvrsetors, [vulgarely called Vagabones. E. W. x. 97. Pub. 1566, or early '67 (no copy known). 2nd ed. 1567, two copies (which differ in several particulars) known; Bodl. and Huth. Lib. Repr. 1573; 1814 (ed. R. Triphook); 1869, *E. Eng. Text Soc.* (ed. F. J. Furnivall and Ed. Viles); also issued by *New Shak. Soc.* 1880. This last ed. gives full information. The work contains 24 essays on various kinds of thieves and tramps; a list of the "professors" of each "art"; and a "slang" dictionary at the end. See also *History of Vagrancy* (J. A. Ribton-Turner), 1887.

HARINGTON, SIR JOHN. 1561—1612. Translator, Satirist, etc. E. W. x. 455-8.

TRANSLATIONS.

1. 1591.—**Orlando Furioso,** *in English heroical Verse.* Repr. 1607 and '34. As a preface to this he wrote his **Apologie of Poetrie**; repr. Haslewood's *Critical Essays*, II. 119. B. M.
2. 1608.—**The Englishmans Doctor,** *or the Schoole of Salerne.* A treatise upon health founded upon the work of Cardanus; in 10-line stanzas. Repr. 1609, '17, '24 (all four editions. B. M.)

ORIGINAL VERSE.

1613.—**Epigrammes by Sir I. H.**(arington); appended to "Alcilia," a poem by J. C. Repr. separately 1615 (116 Epigrams). Complete ed. 1618 (the 1615 ed. forms Bk. IV. of this). Repr. 1625, '33, and with "Orlando Furioso," 1634.

N.B.—See also Prose, No. vi. *infra.*

PROSE. (vi. contains verse.)

i 1596.—**The Metamorphosis of Ajax,** by "Misacmos." B. M. and Bodl. 3 ed. of this suppressed book in 1596; the first being pr. before August.

. 1596.—**The Anatomy of the Metamorphosed Aiax,** by "T. C. Traveller." B. M. (MS. note on an old copy says "obtained Oct., 1596.")

iii. 1596.—**An Apologie: or rather a Retraction,** etc. B. M. Full title E. W. x. 457.

iv. 1596.—**Vlisses vpon Aiax,** "by Misodiaboles." Bodl.

All four were repr. in one vol. *Chiswick Press,* 1814. (S. W. Singer.) No. i. occupies pp. 135; ii., pp. 21; iii., pp. 62; iv., pp. 70.

v. 1653.—**A briefe View of the State of the Church of England ... to the yeere 1608.** B. M. (The work of Bishop Godwin, *De Praesulibus Angliae,* 1601, with "notes" and expansions, often "gossipy," made by H. while tutor to Prince Henry.) Repr. 1804 in "Nugae" *infra.*

vi. 1769-75.—**Nugae Antiquae.** 2 vols. ed. Rev. H. Harington; a miscellaneous collection of prose and verse by Sir J. H. and others. This contained his *Irish Journal, Letters,* etc. Repr enlarged, 3 vols., 1779-'92; and 1804 (ed. T. Park).

vii. 1879.—His **View of the State of Ireland in 1605,** ed. Rev. W. D. Macray from the Bodleian MS.

viii. 1880.—**A Tract on the Succession to the Crown** (supporting James I.'s claim). *Roxburghe Club* (ed. Clements Markham).

HARRISON, WM. 1534—1593. Topographer, Chronologer, and Historian.

Athen. Cantab. II. 163-4. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (F. J. Furnivall). *New Shak. Soc.'s* repr. of Bks. II. and III. of "Description of England," ed. Dr. Furnivall, 1877-8.

1577.—For Holinshed's *Chronicle* H. Englished Bellenden's trans. of Boece (see *Bellenden*); and wrote the **Description of England.** E. W. viii. 366-8. Dr. Furnivall's reprint of Bks. II. and III. has valuable notes and Introduction.

N.B.—The Diocesan Lib. at Derry, Ireland, has 3 big folio vols. of MS. of H.'s unpublished *Great Chronologie,* and *Hist. of Weights and Measures.* See Furnivall's Introd., where extracts are given (pp. xlvii-lx).

HARVEY, GABRIEL. 1545 ?-1630. Scholar and Controversialist.

Best sources of information are Grosart's Introduction in the "Works," Vol. I. pp. ix-l, and Vol. III. pp. vii-xxxiv, together with the Notes; and E. J. Long Scott's Introd. to his ed. of the "Letter Book." *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* gives a few other references.

LATIN WORKS (Grosart, Introd. I. p. xvi.).

1. 1577.—**Rhetor,** *vel duorum Dierum Oratio de Natura, Arte, et Exercitatione Rhetorica.* B. M.
2. 1577.—**Ciceronianus.** *Vel Oratio ad suos Auditores.* B. M.
3. 1578.—**Smithus,** *vel Musarum Lachrymae* (on the death of Sir T. H. Smith).
4. 1578.—*Χαῖρε,* **vel Gratulationes Valdenses.** B. M.

ENGLISH WORKS. ed Grosart, 3 vols. *Huth Library,* 1884.

1. 1580.—Letters between Harvey and Spenser (E.W. ix. 65-70).
   (*a*) **Three Proper & Wittie familiar Letters,** etc. B. M.
   (*b*) **Two other very commendable Letters of the same mens writing,** B. M., unique. Chronologically these stand first, though printed after (*a*). Portions of these will be found pp. 706-10 of the *Globe* "Spenser" (ed. Prof. Hales).
2. 1592.—**Foure letters, & certaine** (22) **Sonnets,** etc. B. M. E. W. x. 183-8.
3. 1593.—**A New letter of Notable Contents,** etc. (Huth Lib.).
4. 1593.—(*a*) **The Precursor** *of Pierces Supererogation,* called a "preparative"; pp. 21; printed sep. and then bound up with (*b*) **Pierces Supererogation,** *or a New Prayse of the olde Asse.* E. W. x. 194. B. M. and Huth Lib.
5. 1597.—**The Trimming of Thomas Nashe.** B. M., and Huth Lib. E. W. x. 196.

N.B.—1884. Edw. John Long Scott edited for the *Camden Soc.* (from Sloane MS. 93 B. M.) Gabriel Harvey's **Letter Book.** This was never meant for publication, and contains much of no interest. Grosart prints selections, and also what he calls the *Story of Mercy Harvey's* (sister of Dr. Gabriel Harvey) *love suit with a nobleman,* 1574-5. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* treats this as a published work, apparently.

HARVEY, JOHN. 1563?—1592. Astrologer.
(Brother to Gabriel Harvey.)

Athen. Cantab. II. 126-7 (with references). *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (S. L. Lee). S. E. Brydges' ed. of G. Harvey's *Four Letters* in "Archaica." Grosart's Introd. to G. Harvey's Works. Hazlitt's *Collections.* Harvey produced four astrological works, 1583-9.

HARVEY, RICHARD. d. 1623. Astrologer. (Another brother.)

Athen. Cantab. II. 282-3. Wood (Bl.) I. 498. Grosart's editions of G. Harvey and Nash. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (unsigned;

? S. Lee). E. W. x. 178-183 deals with the **Astrological Discourse**, 1583, B. M. (p. 178); **Ephemeron** (p. 180); **The Lamb of God**, 1590, B. M. (p. 181); **Plaine Percevall** [1590] B. M. (p. 182-3). Besides these R. H. wrote *Mercurius sive Lachrymae* on the death of Sir Thos. Smith (pr. in his brother Gabriel's "Smithus," 1578); 1583, *Leap Yeare . . . a compendious Prognostication for* 1584; and 1593, **Philadelphos; or, A Defence of Brutus and the Brutans History.** B. M

HATHWAY, RICHARD. fl 1602 Dramatist.

The First Part . . . of Sir John Old-Castle (full title E. W. x. 398), acted Nov., 1599; wr. with Drayton, Munday, and R. Wilson. Twice pr. 1600; once *anon.* and once as by Shakespeare. Both ed. B. M. Pt. II. (licensed *Stat. Reg.* Aug. 11, 1600, with Pt. I.) is unknown. A list of the 14 other lost plays in which he took part (mentioned in Henslowe, 1598-1602; see E. W. x. 398) is given in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* XXV. p. 157 (Gordon Goodwin).

HELLOWES, EDWARD. fl. 1574—1600. Translator.

Three translations from A. de Guevara, Bishop of Guadix. See E. W. viii. 295.

1. 1574.— **Familiar Epistles of Sir Anthonie of Guevara.** Repr. 1577 and '84. (All three in B. M.)
2. 1577.—**A Chronicle, conteyning the liues of tenne Emperoures of Rome.** B. M.
3. 1578.—**A Booke of the Inuention of the Arte of Navigation.** B. M.

HENSLOWE, PHILIP. d. 1616. Theatrical Manager.

1845. **Henslowe's Diary**, ed. for *Shak. Soc.* by Collier, with Notes and Introduction. (N.B.—G. F. Warner's *Catalogue of the Dulwich MSS.* indicates the forged entries which appear in this printed edition.) The Introduction gives interesting details as to Henslowe himself, and as to the character of the information contained in the Diary. The entries give details as to payments for plays, names of writers, and dates of acting between 1592-1603. Portions were printed by Malone in his *Historical Account* prefixed to his "Variorum Shakespeare;" but his failing eyesight led to errors in copying.

HEYWOOD, JASPER, D.D. (younger son of John Heywood). 1535—1598. Jesuit and Poet.

Corser VIII. 209-224. Wood (Bl.) I. 663-6.

VERSE.

(*a*) Translations. (All in B. M.)

1. 1559.—*The sixt Tragedie of . . . Seneca entituled* **Troas.**
2. 1560.—*The seconde Tragedie . . .* **Thyestes.**
3. 1561.—*The first Tragedie . . .* **Hercules Furens.**

N.B.—All three were reprinted in Thos. Newton's *Seneca his tenne Tragedies*, 1581 (reprinted 1591); see *Th. Newton*, Tanner, *Bibl. Brit.* p. 401, judges from the lines prefixed to Studley's trans. of "Agamemnon," 1566, that H. translated some part of Virgil.

(*b*) Original Verse—

1. 8 poems in *Paradise of Dainty Devices*, 1576.
2. Attributed to him: Lines prefixed to Kyffin's *Blessedness of Brytaine*, 1588; *Greene's Epitaph discoursed dialoguewise between Life and Death.* (See Ritson, *Bibl. Poet.* p. 230.)

PROSE.

A Compendium of Hebrew Grammar, reduced in tables.

HEYWOOD, JOHN. 1497?—1580? Writer of Interludes and Epigrams.

Introductions by J. Sharman and F. W. Fairholt, *infra. Hist. of Eng. Drama* 1875, I. 133-8. (A. W. Ward, who also writes in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*) Collier, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Poet*, ed. 1879 (see Index). Corser VIII. 224-240. Wood (Bl.) I. 348-52. The *Wiener Beiträge* (ed. H. Heinzel), Pt. III. 1888, consists of *John Heywood als dramaticker*, pp. 107, by Wilhelm Swoboda.

1. **The Pardoner and the Frere, the Curate and Neybour Pratte**; pr. 1533 (Duke of Devonshire's Lib., unique). Repr. in facsimile 1820; in *Four old Plays*, Camb., U.S.A., 1848, ed. Child; and Hazlitt's *Dodsley* 1874 I. A summary is given by Fairholt li-lxviii.
2. **Johan, the Husbande; Tyb, the Wife; and Syr Jhan, the Priest**; pr. 1533 (Ashmolean Mus. Oxford, unique). Repr. 1819 *Chiswick Press.* Summary in Fairholt xxxi-li.
3. **The Four P.P.** [n.d.; but between 1543-7, E. W. viii. 79 note.] Repr. 1569; B. M. Dodsley's *Select old Plays* I. 1744 and 1780; *Ancient Brit. Dram.* 1810, I.; Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, 1874, I.
4. **The Play of the Wether,** *a new and very mery Interlude of all maner of Wethers* (E. W. viii. 77), pr. 1533 (St. John's Coll. Oxford). No modern reprint. Full account in Fairholt No. 6, *infra*, pp. xiv-xx.
5. **The Play of Love** (E. W. viii. 76-7). 1533, Bodl. No modern reprint; account by Fairholt No. 6, *infra*, pp. xx-xxxi.

6. **A Dialogue on Wit and Folly**; pr 1846 for *Percy Soc.* Vol. XX. by F. W. Fairholt from Harl. MS. 367, B. M. The Introduction contains nearly complete reprints of Nos. 1 and 2, together with summaries of the others.

POEMS.

1 (*a*) 1546.—**A dialogue conteyning the number of effectual Proverbes, &c.** This consists of 2 parts—I. of 13 "chapters"; II. of 11. (The proverbs are woven into a metrical tale of a youth who is in doubt as to which of two ladies to marry—a young or an old. He dies single.) Repr. 1547, '49, '61, and 1874, with Introd., pp. vii-l, and notes by Julian Sharman.

(*b*) 1555.—**Two hundred Epigrammes upon 200 prouerbes, with a thyrde hundred newely added.** B. M.

(*c*) 1562.—To a reprint of the "proverbs," 600 Epigrams were added, as **John Heywoodes Woorkes.** B. M. Repr. 1566; and 1576, B. M. (Colophon dated 1577); 1587 (described by Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 370-1); 1598 B. M. The complete ed., Proverbs and 600 Epigrams, repr. in facsimile *Spenser Soc.* 1867.

2. 1556.—**The Spider and the Flie.** B. M. pp. 440. An allegory in 98 "chapters," 7-line stanzas. See Corser VIII. 224-231, who facsimiles the title-page with Heywood's portrait on it (also given in Spenser's Soc. reprint *supra*).

3. —4 Ballads. Lines to Princess Mary, *A description of a most noble Ladye*, partly pr. in *Tottel's Miscellany*, 1557; given complete from Harl. MS. 1703 in Park's ed. of Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors* I. 80-83 "Note" (20 4-line stanzas). A ballad on the *Meeting and Marriage* of Philip and Mary. (*Harl. Miscell.* X. 255, ed. T. Park.) A third, on the *Traytorous takynge of Scarborow Castle.* (*Harl. Miscell.* X. 257-9.) *Shak. Soc. Papers* 1844, I. 44-6 prints the *Willow Garland.*

N.B.—B. M. Cat. gives "Two fragments of a Morality by Heywood, London? 1560?"

HIGGINS, JOHN. *circa* 1545—1602. Poet and Compiler.

Wood (Bl.) I. 734-6. J. Haslewood's Introd. to "Mirror for Magistrates," 1815.

1. 1572.—*Huloets Dictionarie, newely corrected by J. H.* B. M.
2. 1575.—A new and completed ed. of N. Udall's **Flowers of Latin speech.** Higgins' selections are from the last three comedies of Terence, and are annexed to Udall's work. (See *Udall.*) B. M. Repr. 1581. B. M.
3. 1585.—**The Nomenclator, or Remembrancer of Adrianus Iunius Physician,** etc. (A translation.) B. M.
4. 1602.—**An answer to W. Perkins concerning Christ's Descension into Hell.** B. M.
5. 1574, etc.—See *Mirrour for Magistrates.*

N.B.—The MS. *Discourse on the ways how to annoy the*

Kings of Spain, &c., dated June, 1571, is ascribed to Higgins in Cotton MSS. Galba C. iv. 189. (B. M.)

HOLINSHED, RAPHAEL. d. 1580? Chronicler.

Athen. Cantab. I. 430-1. Tanner, *Bibl. Brit.* Herbert's ed. of Ames. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (excellent).

1. **Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande,** etc.

(*a*) 1577.—2 vols. folio. (E. W. viii. 363-70). Vol. I. contained the "chronicle" of England to 1066, and Harrison's "Description" (see E. W. p. 367, and *Harrison*); the Description and Chronicle of Scotland to 1571 (see *Bellenden* and *Harrison*); the Description and Chronicle of Ireland (see *E. Campion* and *R. Stanyhurst*). Thos. Grenville's copy (B. M.) has the complete ed. with expurgated portions.

(*b*) 1586-7 (Jan.).—2nd ed. 3 vols. folio. Edited after his death by John Hooker (alias *Vowell*), who revised, inserted, and continued it till 1586. "Scotland" was continued by F. Thynne. Abraham Fleming and John Stow did other portions. B. M. (Grenville) has orig. ed., which was very freely castrated. (For details, see *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*; Furnivall's ed. of Fr. Thynne's *Animadversions on Speght's Chaucer* pp. lxiv-xc; *Chaucer Soc.* 1875). In 1722-3 and 1728, the castrated pages were republished. 1807-8, the original ed. repr. 6 vols. 4°.

N.B.—This was the edition used by Shakespeare. For his use of it, see Collier's *Shak. Lib.*; and *Commentaries on Sh.'s Historical Plays.* (T. P. Courtenay.)

HOOKER, RICHARD. 1554?—1600. Divine.

LIFE by Isaac Walton, 1665; often reprinted — Bishop Barry's *Masters in Eng. Theology*, 1877, pp. 1-76—"Editor's Preface," pp. ix-cxxi in Church and Paget's ed. of "Works," 1888—R. W. Church's Introd. to "Eccles. Polity," Bk. I. *Clar. Press*, 1866. Wood (Bl.) I. 694.

WORKS.—Best ed. 1888, 3 vols., Dean R. W. Church and Canon Paget; a revision of Rev. J. Keble's ed. 1836. — Earlier editions:—1662, with "Life," by J. Gauden—1665, for this Walton's "Life" was written to replace Gauden's faulty work. Seven other ed. up to 1739. 1793, *Clar. Press* (Bishop Gandolph)—1825, 2 vols. Rev. W. Dobson —1831, 3 vols. (B. Hanbury). Abridgments, 1705 and 1840.

A. THE ECCLESIASTICAL POLITIE.

(*a*) **Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie.** *Eyght Bookes*, registered Jan. 29, 1592-3 (Arber's *Transcript*, II. 295). Four books only were pr. n.d. [1594?] Repr. 1604. (Bk. I. *Clar. Press*, 1866 ed. R. W. Church, has an excellent Introd.)

(*b*) 1597.—**Book V.** (60 pages longer than the whole four previous Books). Reprinted 1611 with "*a*." The 1617 ed. included **Certayn divine Tractates and other godly sermons.** (These are Sermons pub. 1612-13, vide *infra*, and are not portions of the Ecclesiastical Polity, as sometimes stated.) Repr. 1622, '32, '38, and [n.d.]

(*c*) 1648.—**Books VI. and VIII.** pub. together. Repr. 1651.

(*d*) 1662.—**Bk. VII.** in J. Gauden's ed. of "Works."

N.B.—For the genuineness of "*c*" and "*d*," see Church and Paget's *Editor's Preface*, 1888 ed. §§ 11-25.

B. SERMONS, etc. Nos. 1-4 (including the "Answer" were pr. 1612.

1-3. Three sermons on Habakkuk.

(*a*) *A learned discourse* **of Justification** (Habakkuk i. 4).

N.B.—This gave rise to Walter Travers' *Supplication to the Council* (pr. Church and Paget's ed. III. 548-69), to which II. replied in **An Answer to the Supplication** (III. 570-96).

(*b*) *A learned Sermon of the* **Nature of Pride.** (Habakkuk ii. 4).

(*c*) *A learned Sermon of the* **Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith** (especially dealing with Habakkuk's faith).

4. **A Remedy against Sorrow and Fear.** A funeral sermon on John xiv. 27.

5-6. Two sermons on St. Jude 17—21. Pr. 1613.

7. A fragment found among Bp. Andrewes' papers (pr. 1888, Vol. III. 700-9).

HOWARD, HENRY. See *Surrey, Earl of.*

HOWELL, THOMAS. fl. 1568-81. Poet.

Poems ed. Grosart, *Occas. Issues* VIII. with Introd. pp. v-xv and notes, 1879; 50 copies. E. W. ix. 165-7 gives full titles and slight descriptions.

1. 1568.—**The Arbor of Amitie,** etc. Bodl. (Selden's copy); unique.

2. n.d. [1568].—**Newe Sonets and pretie Pamphlets.** Licensed 1567-8. Capell Collection (Trin. College, Camb.), unique. See *Keper.*

3. 1581.—**H. His Deuises.** Bodl. (Malone), unique.

HUDSON, THOMAS. fl. 1584—1600. Translator and Poet.

Irving's *Lives of Scotch Poets*, and *Hist. of Scotch Poetry.*

1584.—**The Historie of Judith in forme of a Poeme:** *penned in French by the noble poet G. Salust, Lord of Bartas. Engished by Tho. Hudson.* Edinburgh. B. M. Repr. London

1608 and 1613; and with the later editions of Du Bartas. (King James contributed a commendatory sonnet.)
1585.—A sonnet signed "T. H." in King James's *Essays of a Prentise.*
1600.—Poems in *England's Parnassus.*

HUNNIS, WILLIAM. *circa* 1530—1597. Musician and Poet.

The *Jahrbuch d. Deutschen Shaksp. Gesellschaft*, XXVII. contains an article by Charlotte C. Stopes, repr. in pamphlet form, pp. 17, 1892. This gives the fullest account of Hunnis; and is the authority for the dates *infra*. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* gives several references (not the above).

1. 1550.—**Certayne Psalmes** *chosen out of the Psalter of David, and drawen forth into English metre.* Camb. Univ. Lib. (prob. unique).
2. 1578.—**A Hyve fvll of Hunnye.** B. M. (Genesis in *English Meetre.*)
3. 1583.—**Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne,** *wherevnto are alsc annexed his Handfull of Honisuckles*, etc. B.M. (See E. W. viii. 217.) Repr. 1585, '7, '97, 1610. '18, '21 (Edin.), and 1629.
4. 1588.—**Hunnies Recreations,** *conteining foure godlie and compendious discourses* (Verse). Repr. with additions 1595. B. M.
5. —Twelve poems in *Paradise of Dainty Devices*, 1576; two in *Eng. Helicon*, 1600.

N.B.—Ritson, *Bibl. Poet.* p. 252, mentions *An Abridgement or brief meditation on certaine of the Psalms in English metre*, [n.d.], unknown. The Music School, Oxford, contains some of H.'s MSS.

KING JAMES I. 1566—1625.

WORKS.—1616.—Collected (up to date) by Bishop Montague, together with state papers and speeches. Repr. 1619 and 1689 (Frankfort). B. M. has all 3.

POEMS.—1802.—Vol. III. of *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry* (J. Sibbald)

1. 1584.—Edin. 4°. **The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine art of poesie.** B. M. Repr. (with preface) R. P. Gillies, Edin. 1814, 4°; by J. Haslewood in *Ancient Critical Essays*, Vol. II. 1815; Arber *Reprints*, 1869.
2. 1591.—Edin. 4°. **His Maiesties poeticall exercises at vacant houres.** B. M. Repr. 1818.

PROSE.—1st editions of all but No. 11 in B. M.

A. Religious.

i. 1588.—**Ane fruitfull Meditatioun,** *contening ane plane and facill expositioun of ye* 7, 8, 9, *and* 10 *versis of the* 20 *chap. of the Reuelatioun in forme of ane sermone.*
ii. 1589.—**Ane meditatioun** *upon the xxv., xxvi., xxvii., xxviii., and xxix. verses of the xv. chapt. of the first buke of the Chronicles of the Kingis.*

iii. 1619.—**A meditation** *upon the Lords Prayer.*
iv. 1620.—12°. **A meditation** *upon the 27, 28, 29 verses of the xxvii. chapter of St. Matthew.*

B. Political.

v. 1599.—4°. **Basilikon Doron**; *or, his Maiesties Instructions to his dearest sonne, Henry the Prince.* Seven copies of 1st ed. struck. B. M. has one. Repr. 1603; 1887. *Roxburghe Club*; and in *Universal Lib.* (ed. Prof. Morley) Vol. 63.
vi. 1603.—**The True Law of Free Monarchies.**
vii. 1607.—**Triplici Nodo Triplex Cuneus**; *or, an Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance.*
viii. 1615.—**Declaration du . . . Roy Jacques I. . . . pour le droit des Rois.** Trans. by "R. B.," issued 1619, Camb.
ix. —**Speeches and letters.** *Maitland Club*, 1835; *Camden Soc.* 1849; *Bannatyne Club*, 1851.

C. Social.

x. 1597.—Edin. 4°. **Daemonologie,** *in forme of a dialogue.*
xi. 1604.—**A Counterblast to Tobacco.** Repr. 1869, Arber *Reprints*; 1884, *Bibliotheca Curiosa* (E. M. Goldsmid).

JEWEL, JOHN. 1522—1571. Bishop of Salisbury.

LIFE.—*Joannis Juelli . . . vita et mors*, by Laurence Humphrey, 1573; officially sanctioned by Archbp. Parker. Condensed by Dan. Featley, and prefixed to 1609 ed. of "Works." 1685, another condensation with additions, prefixed to a Trans. of the *Apology* and the *Epistle to Scipio*, by a "person of Quality;" this is repr. in Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* III. 315-74. 1835, Life, by C. W. Le Bas, *Theolog. Lib.* Wood (Bl.) I. 389-96. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (Bp. of Peterborough).

WORKS.—1609.—1st folio ed. under direction of Arch. Bancroft (ed. Thos. Fuller, with Featley's "Memoir.") Repr. 1611. 1845-50. 4 vols. *Parker Soc.* (ed. Rev. John Ayre; "Memoir" in Vol. IV.). 1848, 8 vols. ed. R. W. Jelf, Oxford.

1562.—**Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana,** the first methodical statement of the position of the Church of England against Rome. Often trans. and repr. (The trans. by Lady Ann Bacon, Lord B.'s mother, pr. 1564, with Archbp. Parker's preface, is repr. in Cassell's *Nat. Lib.* 1888.)

JOHNSON, RICHARD. 1573—1659? Romance Writer and Poet.

Notice of R. J. before *Percy Soc.* repr. of No. 3 Verse. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 404-414. Hazlitt, *Handbook* 302-5.

PROSE.

i. 1597.—**The Famous Historie of the Seauen champions of Christendom.** Ent. *Stat. Reg.* 1596, but no earlier ed. known.

Hazlitt, *Handbook*, states that this is the Second Part, Pt. I. pr. 1596 being unknown. 1608 ed. is usually considered to be Pt. II.; that of 1616, Pt. III. Frequently reprinted. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 411-4.

ii. 1607.—**The Pleasant Walkes of Moorefields.** 12 l. Prose with 18 6-line stanzas introduced. Mainly based on Stow's Chronicle. Repr. Collier, *Illust. of E. E. Pop. Lit.* II. 1863. See Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 406-8.

iii. 1607.—**Pleasant conceites of old Hobson, the merry Londoner** (a well-known haberdasher of the Poultry, d. 1581). B. M. Repr. of 1607 ed. *Percy Soc.* Vol. IX. 1843; and of 1640 ed. in Hazlitt's *Old English Jest Books*, Vol. III. 1864.

iv. 1607.—**The Most Pleasant History of Tom A Lincolne.** Ent. *Stat. Reg.* in 1607. 7th ed. 1655. B. M. is the first known. Repr. Thom's *Early Eng. Prose Romances* II. 1828.

v. 1613.—**Looke on me, London,** B. M. (describing the abuses of London, and praying the Lord Mayor to remedy them). Repr. Collier, *Illust. of Early Eng. Popular Lit.* II. 1863. See Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 410.

VERSE.

1. 1592.—**The nine Worthies of London.** B. M. and Bodl. 10-syll. alternate rhyme with prose. Repr. *Harl. Miscell.* VIII. 437.
2. 1603.—**Anglorum Lachrimae.** 7 l. A lament for Elizabeth. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 408. Repr. *Fugitive Tracts*, Series II., 1875.
3. 1612.—**The Crowne Garland of Golden Roses.** Repr. 1631; and in 1659 with changes. See Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 404. Both ed. repr. *Percy Soc.*, Vols. VI. 1842 (1612 ed.), and XV. 1845 (1659 ed.), ed. W. Chappell.
4. 1620.—3rd ed. **The Golden Garland of Princely pleasures and delicate Delights,** *being most pleasant Songs and Sonnets.* B. M., prob. unique. (Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 405 confuses this with No. 3.) Percy's *Reliques* repr. the "Lamentable song of the Death of King Leare and his three daughters."
5. 1621.—**The History of Tom Thumbe.** Ritson, *Ancient Popular Poetry* II. gives extracts.
6. 1630.—**Dainty Conceits.** Mentioned by Lowndes, p. 1216.

Attributed to—

1612.—**A Remembrance due to the life and death of Rob. Earl of Salisbury,** "by R. J.," B. M. and Bodl. In prose and verse. Repr. 1818 by J. T. Brockett in *Three Biographical Tracts* (privately pr.). He ascribed it to Ralph Jackson, an attendant on the Earl.

JONSON, BENJAMIN. 1573—1635. Poet and Dramatist.

Gifford's "Memoir" and essay on the "Proofs of Jonson's malignity," 1816 ed.: (both repr. in Cunningham's ed.). Ward, *Eng.*

Dram. Lit., 1875, I. 514–604. J. A. Symonds, *Predecessors of Shakespeare*, 1884: and "Life" in *English Worthies Series*, 1886, pp. 202. A. C. Swinburne's able "Study" of B. J. 1889. *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shak. Gesellschaft*. 1875, X. "Eine Studie" (H. von Friesen); III. 150; and IV. 112 (K. Elze). *Eng. Studien* I. 181–6, (on No. 1, "Drama" *infra*). *Anglia*, X. 361, "On double endings in B. J." (W. Wilke); and XII. 519–25, on *Volpone* (F. Holthausen). *Die Englischen Maskenspiele.* (Sörgel). *Dict. of Nat. Biog.;* an excellent article by Prof. C. H. Herford.

WORKS.—1616 folio. Vol. I. only. Vol. II. appeared in fragments, 1631, '40, '41; it has five distinct paginations, but the general t.-p. is dated 1640.—1692, a single folio which pr. for the first time Comedies Nos. 2 and 12 *infra*. Repr. 1715; 6 vols. 8vo.—1756. 7 vols.; ed. Whalley with a "Life."—1816. 9 vols.; ed. Wm. Gifford.—1871. 3 vols., and 1875, 9 vols. By Lt.-Col. Cunningham. The *Mermaid Series* ed. has an Introduction by Prof. C. H. Herford.

I. REGULAR DRAMA.

A. Comedy.

1. **Every Man in his Humour.** Act. 1598. Pr. 1601, and fol. 1616.
2. **The Case is Altered.** Act. 1598–9, as Nash alludes to it in *Lenten Stuff*, 1599. It may have preceded No. 1. Pr. 1609, and fol. 1692.
3. **Every Man Out of his Humour.** Act. 1599. Two ed. 1600.
4. **Cynthia's Revels**; *or*, *The Fountain of Self-Love* Act. 1600; pr. 1600, 1601. Fol. 1616 had large additions.
5. **The Poetaster**; *or*, *his Arraignment.* Act. 1601; pr. 1602.
6. **Volpone**; *or*, *The Fox.* Act. 1605; pr. 1607.
7. **Epicœne**: *or*, *The Silent Woman.* Act. 1609; pr. 1609.
8. **The Alchemist.** Act. 1610; pr. 1612.
9. **Bartholomew Fair.** Act. Oct. 31, 1614; pr. fol. 1631.
10. **The Devil is an Ass.** Act. 1616; pr. fol. 1631.
11. **The Staple of News.** Act. 1625; pr. fol. 1631.
12. **The New Inn.** Act. Jan. 19, 1629; pr. 8vo, 1631 and fol. 1692.
13. **The Magnetic Lady**; *or*, *Humours Reconciled.* Lic. Oct., 1632; pr. fol. 1640.
14. **A Tale of a Tub.** Lic. May 7, 1633; pr. 1640 F.

B. Tragedy. Both repr. fol. 1616.

15. **Sejanus, his Fall.** Act. 1603; pr. 1605.
16. **Catiline, his Conspiracy.** Act. 1611; pr. 1611 and 1635.

C. Fragments.

17. **The Sad Shepherd**; *or*, *a Tale of Robin Hood.* Pr. fol. 1641.
18. **The Fall of Mortimer.** Pr. fol. 1640.

D. Written with others.

1. Additions to Kyd's **Jeronymo**, pr. 1602. Henslowe "Diary,"

p. 201, Sept. 25, 1601, refers to "adicions"; and p. 223, June 24, 1602, to "new adicyons" by "bengemy Johnsone."

2. **Eastward ho!** Act. 1604 : pr. 1605. Wr. with Chapman and Marston.
3? **The Widow.** A comedy, *circ.* 1616. Pr. 1652, and attrib. on title-page to Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton (prob. by Mid. only).
4? **The Bloody Brother.** Pr. 1639 as by "B. J. F."; and in 1640 as by Fletcher only. See p. 383. No. 47.

E. Lost Plays. Mentioned by Henslowe. (H.)

1. **A Hot Anger Soon Cooled.** With Porter and Chettle. H., p. 131, Aug. 18, 1598.
2. **Page of Plymouth.** With Dekker. H., pp. 105, 155, 156. Aug.-Sept., 1599.
3. **Robert II., King of Scots.** Tragedy. With Dekker, Chettle, "and other jentellmen." H., p. 156. Sept. 3, 1599.
4. **Richard Crookback.** Tragedy. H., p. 223. June 24, 1602.

II. ENTERTAINMENTS.

1. **The Satyr.** Act. June 25, 1603, at Althorpe ; pr. 1603.
2. **Part of King James's Entertainment in passing to his Coronation** (*sic* in Folio, 1616). Jonson arranged "Acts" I. and V. Pr. 1604 with 1, and 3. Dekker did II.—IV. (See *Dekker*, p. 370 ; and p. 237 : the Folio is wrong.)
3. **A Panegyre on the Happy entrance of K. James to his first . . . Parliament,** Mar. 19, 1604. Pr. 1604, vide *supra.*
4. **The Penates** ; *or*, *Mayday.* Act. May 1, 1604, at Highgate. Pr. 1616, fol.
5. **The Entertainment of the Two Kings of Great Britain and Denmark** at Theobald's, July 24, 1606. Pr. 1616, fol.
6. **An Entertainment of King James and Queen Anne** at Theobald's, 22nd May, 1607. Pr. 1616, fol.
7. **Love's Welcome.** The King's Entertainment at Welbeck, 1633. Pr. 1640, fol.
8. **Love's Welcome.** The King and Queen's Entertainment at Bolsover, July 30, 1634. Pr. 1641, fol.

III. MASQUES.

1. **The Masque of Blackness.** At the Court at Whitehall, on Twelfth Night, 1605.
2. **Hymenaei** ; *or*, *The Masque of Hymen.* Acted for marriage of Earl of Essex ; followed next day by "**The Barriers**"—11th and 12th nights from Christmas, 1606. Pr. 1606.
3. **The Hue and Cry after Cupid.** Shrove Tuesday, 1608 ; pr. 1608.
4. **The Masque of Beauty.** At the Court at Whitehall, on Sunday night after the Twelfth Night, 1608-9. Pr. with No. 1 *supra* as **The Queenes Masques** [n.d.] : but prob. 1609. (MS. signed by "B. J." in B. M.)
5. **The Masque of Queens.** Feb. 2, 1609 ; pr. 1609.

6. **The Speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers.** Act. Jan. 1, 1611; pr. 1616 F.
7. **Oberon the Fairy Prince.** A Masque of Prince Henry's, Jan. 1611; pr. 1616 F.
8. **Love freed from Ignorance and Folly.** A masque of her Majesty's. Presented at Christmas, 1611; pr. [n.d.], and 1616 F.
9. **Love Restored.** In a Masque at Court, presented during Christmas, 1611; pr. 1616 F.
10. **A Challenge at Tilt.** At a marriage. Act. Dec. 27, 1613, and Jan. 1, 1614; pr. 1616 F.
11. **The Irish Masque.** At Court, Dec. 29, 1613, and Jan. 10, 1614; pr. 1616 F.
12. **Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists.** At Court, 1614.
13. **The Golden Age Restored.** In a masque at Court, act. Jan. 1 and 6, 1616. Pr. 1616 F.
14. **Christmas his Masque.** As presented in Court, Christmas, 1616; pr. 1631-41 F
15. A Masque presented in the house of Lord Hay for M. le Baron de Tour, Feb. 22, 1617, usually called (after Gifford) "**The Masque of Lethe**"; pr. 1617.
16. **The Vision of Delight.** Presented at Court, Christmas, 1617.
17. (*a*) **Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue.** Presented at Court Twelfth Night, 1617-18.
    (*b*) **For the Honour of Wales.** A kind of anti-masque added to "*a*."

    N.B.—The date 1619, given in 1640 folio, is incorrect. Harrison's *Description of England*, III. 56*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, proves that it was seen *ut supra*.
18. **News from the New World discovered in the Moon.** Pres. at Court Twelfth Night, 1621; pr. 1631-41 F.
19. A masque of **The Metamorphosed Gipsies.** As. pres. to King James, Aug. 1621; pr. 1631-41 F.
20. **The Masque of Augurs,** with the several anti-masques. Pres. on Twelfth Night, 1621-2; pr. 1621 (B. M.) and 1631-41 F.
21. **Time Vindicated** *to Himself and to his Honours.* At Court, Twelfth Night, 1623; pr. 1631-41 F.
22. **Neptune's Triumph** *for the Return of Albion.* Act. 1624; and with No. 25 on Twelfth Night, 1626; pr. [n.d.] 1631-41 F.
23. **Pans Anniversary**; *or, The Shepherd's Holyday.* At Court, New Year, 1625. (With Inigo Jones.) Pr. 1631-41 F.
24. **The Masque of Owls,** at Kenilworth, pres. by the Ghost of Capt. Cox, mounted on his hobby-horse, 1626; pr. 1631-41 F.
25. **The Fortunate Isles,** *and their Union.* Designed for Court on Twelfth Night, 1626; pr. [n.d.], and 1631-41 F.
26. **Love's Triumph through Callipolis.** At Court, 1630. (With Inigo Jones.) Pr. 1630, and 1631-41 F.
27. **Chloridia.** *Rites to Chloris and her Nymphs* at Court. Shrove-tide, 1630. (With Inigo Jones.) Pr. [1630?] and 1631-41 F.

28. An **Interlude.** Acted at the Earl of Newcastle's house, for a birth; first pr. by Gifford.

IV. Poems.

1. **Epigrams.** Licensed 1612; pub. in first folio 1616. (Nos. 2 and 18 explain what B. J. means by an "Epigram.")
2. **The Forest.** Pr. 1616 folio. (15 poems.)
3. **Underwoods.** So-called "out of analogy . . . to the Forest in my former book." Pr. 1631-41 folio. Contents: I. 3 Poems of Devotion; II. A celebration of Charis, in 10 lyrics; III. 102 Miscellaneous Poems.
4. 1640.—4°. **The Execration against Vulcan** (9 pp.), **with divers Epigrams** . . . *to several Noble Personages. Never Published before.* Later in the same year an 8° vol., **Q. Horatius Flaccus his** . . . **art of Poetry,** appeared. This contained, I. the translation; II. *The Masque of Gypsies* (with sep. t.-p.); and III. (with sep. t.-p.), the *Epigrams,* repr. with slight changes in the order.
5. Cunningham, III. pp. 459-68, reprints the "Miscellaneous Pieces" first collected by Gifford, and adds 3 or 4 others.

V. Prose.

i. **Timber; or, Discoveries made upon Men and Matter.** 171 brief "essays"; pr. folio 1641. Repr. Boston, U.S.A., 1892, ed. F. E. Schelling.

ii. **The English Grammar,** pr. folio 1640. Bk. I. 22 Chap. on *Etymology;* Bk. II. 9 Chap. *Syntax.*

iii. Trans. of Barclay's *Argenis* (*Stat. Reg.* Oct. 2, 1623) is lost; prob. never printed.

N.B.—Jonson's *Conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden,* pr. by Cunningham, III. pp. 470-494, were first pr. 1842 *Shak. Soc.* ed. E. Laing. An abstract had been pr. in Drummond's works, 1711. The 24 brief Latin **Leges Conviviales** was first pr. 1692 folio.

KEPER, JOHN. 1547?—? Poet.
Wood (Bl.) I. 416-8.

1568.—Three complimentary poems, and an "Address" to the reader in Th. Howell's *Arbor of Amitie.* E. W. ix. 166. (Nothing else known.)

N.B.—Wood (*auctoritate* Bp. Barlow) had assigned *The whole Psalter trans. into English metre* [1567] to Keper. It is by Archbp. Parker. Bliss says *The Courtiers Academie* trans. from the Italian of Count Annibale Romei, "by J. K.", may be his.

KINWELMERSH, KYNWELMERSH, or KINDLEMARSH, FRANCIS. fl. 1570. Poet.

1572.—**Jocasta**; pr. in Geo. Gascoigne's *Hundreth Sundrie Flowres.* K. translated Acts I. and IV. Acted Gray's Inn, 1566. See *Gascoigne.*

1576.—In *Paradyse of Dainty Devices*, 7 poems signed "F. K." In 1580 and 1600 this is expanded to "F. Kindlemarsh." 6 poems only remain in 1600 ed., chiefly religious. The poem for Whitsunday is in all ed. signed M. Kindlemarsh, and another M. K. (These are Nos. 11 and 39 in the account in Brydges' *Censura Literaria*, I. 255-66.)

KNOX, JOHN. 1505-1572. Reformer and historian.

Best "Life" by T. MacCree, 1818. Appendix, Note "D.D." gives full Bibliography; 19 numbers, with titles in full, and notes upon the editions, etc. E. W. viii. *passim;* see *Index*. J. Tulloch, *Leaders of the Reformation*, etc.

Works. 6 vols. collected and edited for *Bannatyne Club*, 1846-64, by David Laing. Vols. I. and II., *History of the Reformation in Scotland*; III.—VI., *Miscellaneous Works*, controversial, theological, and letters. VI. is in 2 pts., and contains chiefly letters. An elaborate work.

i. 1558.—**The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrvovs regiment of women**, B. M. E. W. viii. 179-181. Repr. Arber, *Eng. Schol. Lib.* No. 2.

ii. **The History of the Reformation in Scotland**, first pub. complete in folio, with the "First Blast," and other "Curious pieces," 1732. See MacCree, Vol. II. Append., Note C. C., pp. 352-7. (Bk. I. appeared [1587] according to B. M. Cat. The Five Books were pr. 1644, ed. D. Buchanan.)

KYD, THOMAS. 1557?—1595? Dramatist.

Besides E. W. x. 372-87; the reprints, and articles mentioned *infra; Thos. Kyd und sein Kreis*, G. Sarrazin, Berlin, 1892, pp. 122, may be consulted.

DRAMA (*Dodsley*) ed. Hazlitt, IV. and V., contains all but No. 4).

1. **The First Part of Ieronimo** (full title, E. W. x. 375-8). Acted? 1584-9; pr. 1605, B. M.
2. **The Spanish Tragedy** (full title, E. W. x. p. 378); licensed Oct., 1592; earliest extant ed. [1594?] B. M. Repr. 1599, 1602, 1610, 15, '23, '33, all anon. For Heywood's remark, which causes the play to be ascribed to Kyd, see E. W. x. 374.
3. **Cornelia**, the only play to which Kyd set his name (E. W. x. 373). A trans. from Robt. Garnier (x. 374); licensed Jan. 26, 1593-4, as by "Th. Kydde"; pr. 1594 anon., but dedic. signed "T. K."; B. M. Repr. 1595, with Kyd's name given in full. B. M.

Attributed to Kyd.

4. 1589.—**The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune**. Repr. 1851, *Roxburghe Club*, ed. Collier in "Five Old Plays," pp. 81-155.

5. 1599.—**Tragedye of Solyman and Perseda,** B. M. (full title, E. W. x. 373); licensed Nov. 20, 1592. See *Englische Studien* xv. 250-63 (G. Sarrazin), and xvi. 358-62 (E. Köppel); also *Th. Kyd und sein Kreis* (G. Sarrazin).

OTHER WORKS.

1. 1588.—**The Householders Philosophie.** A translation from Tasso; Kyd's first work (B. M., imperf.); see Cat. under "T. K.," and "Tasso, *Il Padre di Famiglia.*" E. W. x. 372.
2. 1592.—**The Truethe of the most wicked and secret murthering of John Brewen . . . committed by his owne wife.** Lambeth Lib., unique. Repr. Collier, *Illustr. of Early Eng. Popular Lit.*, vol. i., 1863.
3. 1592.—**The True Reporte of the Poisoninge of Thos. Elliot;** pub. like the above by Kyd's brother is possibly by T. K.

N.B.—Malone wished to assign a share in *Taming of the Shrew*, and *Titus Andronicus* to Kyd. F. G. Fleay gives him *Arden of Feversham!* Kyd probably wrote the Pre-Shakespearian "Hamlet," to which reference is usually made in editions of Sh.'s play. See *Anglia*, 1890, XII. 143-157, and 1891, XIII. 117-40.

LAMBARDE, WM. 1536—1601. Topographer.

1576. **A Perambulation of Kent.** *Collected and written (for the most Part) in the year* 1570, *and now increased*, etc. The first county history known. Repr. 1596 [n.d.], 1640, 1656. The 1596 ed. repr. 1826, with Life of Lambarde. Lowndes, p. 1301, gives details of L.'s 5 other works—the 'Αρχαιονομία; the *Eirenarcha;* and *Dictionarium Topographicum*, etc. Nichol's *Bibl. Top. Brit.* I. 493-532 gives a full account, together with list of Lambarde's MSS. at Sevenoaks, etc.

LATIMER, HUGH. 1485?—1555. Divine and Martyr.

LIVES by Rob. Demaus 1869, revised 1881 *Relig. Tract. Soc.*, pp. 462; Wm. Gilpin, 1755; Corrie (see *infra*). *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (Jas. Gairdner); *Eccles. Biog.* (Wordsworth) II. 445-680; *Leaders of the Reformation* (J. Tulloch), 3rd ed. 1883. Pp. xiv. 445.

WORKS.—*Parker Soc.* 2 vols. 1844-5, ed. Rev. Geo. Elwes Corrie, with memoir.

1. 1549.—**Seven sermons preached before Edward VI.** Mar.—Apr. 1549. Repr. separately Arber's *Reprints* 1869; this gives (p. 16) full bibliographical information.
2. 1562—**27 Sermons.** Repr. "with others not heretofore set forth in print" in 1571, '5, '8, '84, '96, and 1635. (All in B. M.) The sermons have been frequently reprinted.

LEGGE, THOS. 1535—1607. Scholar, Master of Caius Coll. Camb.

Richard III., a Latin tragedy acted at St. John's Coll. 1579. (E. W. x. 369.) MS. at Emmanuel and Caius Coll.; at Univ. Lib. Cam.; and in Harl. MSS. Printed 1844 *Shak. Soc.* from Emmanuel MS. by Barron Field; and 1875 by Hazlitt in Vol. V. of his ed. of Collier's *Shak. Library*.

LINCHE, RICHARD. fl. 1596—1601. Poet.

TRANSLATIONS (interspersed with verses).

1. 1599.—**The Fountaine of Ancient Fiction,** *wherein is lively depictured the Images and Statues of the Gods of the Ancients, with their proper and particular Expositions* (by V. Cartari), *done out of Italian into English.* B. M. (A collection of passages from classical writers relating to each god.)
2. 1601.—**An historical Treatise of the Travels of Noah into Europe,** etc. Done into English (out of Berosus, etc.). B. M.

Attributed to Linche—

1596. **Diella: certaine Sonnets** (38) **adioyned to the amorous Poeme** (in 6-line stanzas) **of Dom Diego and Gineura** "by R. L. Gentleman." B. M. and Bodl. (See E. W. x. 481). The 38 Sonnets repr. 1841 *Beldornie Press* (E. V. Utterson), 16 copies; and in E. Goldsmid's *Bookworm's Garner*. The whole repr. Arber, *Eng. Garner*, Vol. VII. 1883; and Grosart 1877, with notes and an Introd. in which he strongly advocates the claim of Linche to be "R. L." In *Athen. Cantab.* II. 223 Cooper attributes *Diella* to Rich. Lylesse, giving no reason.

LODGE, THOS. 1558?—1625. Poet, Dramatist, Romance Writer, Translator.

E. W. ix. 233-238, and x. 61-76—Wood (Bl.) II. 382-5—Gosse's Introd. repr. in *Seventeenth Century Studies* 1883—Laing's Introd. to reprint of *Defence of Plays—Anglia* X. 235-89—Jusserand's *Eng. Novels in the Time of Elizabeth*, pp. 202-15—J. A. Symonds, *Predecessors of Shakespeare*—Corser VIII. 369-81, and Collier *Bibl. Cat.* I. 464-78.

WORKS.—ed. Edmund Gosse for *Hunterian Club*, 1872-82.

DRAMA.

1. 1594.—**The Wounds of Civill War.** B. M., Bodl., etc. Full title E. W. x. p. 66; analysis of play follows. Blank verse. Repr. Hazlitt's *Dodsley* VII.
2. 1594.—**A looking glass for London.** Devonshire Lib. 1598, B. M. Bodl. 1602, ditto. 1617, Huth and Dyce Coll. Repr. Dyce's ed. of Greene. Analysis, E. W. x. 70-77.
3. ? 1659.—**Lady Alimony**; *or, The Alimony Lady.* B. M.

Cat. still ascribes to [Lodge? and Greene?] Repr. Hazlitt's *Dodsley* XIV.

POETRY.

1. 1589.—**Scillaes Metamorphysis.** *Enterlaced with the vnfortunate love of Glaucus*, etc., and 18 other poems. Bodl. and Dyce Coll. Repr. 1610 with changed name.
2. 1593.—**Phillis.** B. M. 40 poems, chiefly sonnets—not all regular—with a few pastorals, and an elegy intermingled; an "Induction" at beginning, and an "ode" at the end. The *Tragicall complaynt of Elstred* in 6-line verse follows (on the model of the M. for Magistrates). Sonnet 25 was pr. in. *Eng. Helicon* 1600, with two extracts from "Rosalynde," and was wrongly signed S. E. D. (*i.e.* Sir Ed. Dyer). This is Lodge's chief vol. of verse.
3. 1595.—**A fig for Momus.** *Containing . . . Satyres, Eclogues, and Epistles.* B. M., Bodl., and Britwell. Repr. *Auchinleck Press*, 1817.
4. MISCELLANEOUS VERSE. (A sep. Part in Gosse's Reprint.) 1581, 4 7-line verses in Barnabe Riches' *Don Simonides*, which he had revised—1589, 8 lines of French verse in Greene's *Span. Masquerado*—1590, 8 lines in Peter Bale's *Writing Schoolemaster*—1593, in the *Phœnix Nest*, 16 pieces (14 not previously printed)—1600, in *Eng. Helicon*, 13 poems (2 not previously printed).
5. ? *Epitaph on Lady Anne Lodge*, mentioned *Stat. Reg.* Dec. 23, 1580. (Lost.)

PROSE.

(*a*) Romances.

i. 1590.—**Rosalynde.** (Britwell.) 1592 (Bodl. and Huth). 1604 (Britwell). 1609 (Bodl. and B. M.) 1612 and '14 (B. M.) 1623, '34, '42. Repr. 1802 (ed. Waldron); 1843 and '75 in Collier's *Shak. Lib.* Vol. I.; 1886, Cassell's *National Lib.*

ii. 1591.—**Robert Second Duke of Normandy.** Britwell. An euphuistic historical romance; uninteresting.

iii. 1592.—**Euphues Shadow**, *the battaile of the sences*, followed by the **Deafe mans Dialogue.** B. M., Britwell, etc.

iv. 1593.—**The Life and Death of William Longbeard.** (An historical romance, containing some verse.) Bodl. and Rowfant Lib. Repr. Collier, *Illus. of Old Eng. Lit.* II. 1860.

v. 1596.—**A Margarite of America.** Euphuistic romance, chiefly trans. from Spanish. B. M. and Bodl., etc. Repr. Halliwell, 1859.

(*b*) MORAL AND RELIGIOUS.

i. 1584.—**An Alarum against Usurers** (full title E. W. ix. 237). Repr. with the "Defence of Plays." *Shak. Soc.* 1853 (ed. D. Laing).

ii. 1592.—**Catharos. Diogenes in his Singularitie.** B. M. A Dialogue between three speakers on the immorality of Athens (*i.e.* London).

iii. 1596.—**The Divel Coniured.** B. M., Bodl., etc. A moral

dialogue between Anthony the Hermit and three men of the world.

iv. 1596.—**Wits Miserie and the worlds madnesse.** . . . *Discouering the Deuils Incarnat of this Age.* B. M.

v. ? 1596.—**Prosopopeia.** A Rom. Cath. religious tract, 126 pp., on the Tears of the Virgin Mary. Some copies are signed "T. L.," others "L. T." Mr. Laing suggests it is by Laurence Twine.

(*c*) TRANSLATIONS.

i. 1602.—Folio. **The Works of Josephus.** Out of Latin and French. B. M. 8 ed. up to 1693. See E. W. x. 65.

ii. 1614.—Folio. **The works of Seneca.** 1620. B. M. 1632.

iii. 1621.—Fol. **A Learned Summary upon . . . Du Bartas.** From French. B. M.

(*d*) MISCELLANEOUS.

i. 1579.—**Defence of Poetry, Music, and Stage Plays** (E. W. ix. 233). Two copies known; Bodl. and Britwell, a reply to *Gosson*, q.v. Repr. *Shak. Soc.* 1853 (ed. D. Laing).

ii. 1602. **Paradoxes.** *Against common opinion.*

iii. 1603—**A Treatise of the Plague.** B. M., Bodl., etc.

iv. 1881.—**The Poore Mans Talentt.** Wr. *circ.* 1623. A popular medical treatise, first printed by Ed. Gosse, who gives facsimile of autograph dedication by Lodge.

LOST.

A Spiders Webbe. Licensed June 7, 1594 (Arber II. 652). Last copy sold at John Hutton's sale, 1764. (See Lowndes, p. 1383.)

LLOYD, LUDOWIC (or LEWIS). fl. 1573-1610. Poet and Compiler.

Brit. Mus. Catalogue gives 10 works from **The Pilgrimage of Princes,** 1573 (described Hazlitt *Handbook*, p. 338), to **The Jubile of Britane,** 1607. It also ascribes *Certaine Englishe Verses presented unto the Queenes . . . Maiestie* (after the plots of 1586) "by L. L." to Ludowic Lloyd. This is repr. in *Fugitive Tracts*, Series I. 1875. Lowndes, p. 1377, gives an incomplete list; Hazlitt *Handbook* also incomplete. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* gives a full list, including **Hilaria,** 1607 (not in B. M.). Hazlitt also mentions an *Epitaph on Sir Ed. Saunders*, pr. as a broadside 1576, and in *Par. of D. Devices* 1576. This makes 13 works in all. See also Hunter *Chorus Vatum*, and Cole *Athen. Cantab.* (both in Addit. MSS. B. M.).

LYLY, JOHN. 1553-4—1606. Dramatist and Novelist.

E. W. viii. 305-22; ix. 196-208, and 305-6. See also viii. 297 (Note on *Pettie*). *Athen. Cantab.* II. 325-9. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

(S. Lee). *Euphuismus* (F. Landmann) Giessen, 1881 (see E. W. viii. 320*n*), and the same writer's ed. of Euphues, 1887; and a paper for *New Shak. Soc.* Pt. II. 244-77. Arber's "Euphues." Fairholt's "Introduction," *infra*. Jusserand, *Hist. of Eng. Novel in the Time of Eliz.* 103-142. Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poet.* III. 1-17; and F. G. Fleay, *Biog. Chron. of Eng. Drama*.

Plays.—1858, 2 vols. 8°., ed. F. W. Fairholt, with Introduction. E. Blount's *Six Court Comedies*, 1632 (E. W. ix. 208*n*) contained the first six plays, *infra*.

1. 1584.—**Alexander and Campaspe** (prose). Repr. 1584 and '91 as "**Campaspe.**" All three ed. B. M. Repr. *Dodsley* 1780 and 1825; *Anc. Br. Drama*, 1810; and in *Works of the Brit. Dramatists*, 1870 (ed. J. S. Keltie).
2. 1584.—**Sapho and Phao** (prose). B. M. Repr. 1591. B. M.
3. 1591.—**Endimion.** *The Man in the Moone* (prose). B. M. Repr. *Old Eng. Plays* I. 1814.
4. 1592.—**Gallathea** (prose). B. M.
5. 1592.—**Midas** (prose). B. M. Repr. *Old Eng. Plays*, 1814.
6. 1594.—**Mother Bombie** (prose). B. M. Repr. 1598, and in *Old Eng. Plays* I. 1814
7. 1597.—**The Woman in the Moone** (blank verse). B. M.
8. 1601.—**Love's Metamorphosis.** A Wittie and Courtly Pastorall (verse). B. M.

Attributed to Lyly—

1600. **The Maydes Metamorphosis** (chiefly rhyme). B. M. Repr. Bullen's *Old Plays* I. 1882. E. W. Gosse plausibly suggests John Day as author.

N.B.—*The Warning for Faire Women*, 1599, anon., has no claim to be considered Lyly's. (Attrib. by Wood and Winstanley.)

Prose.

i. 1579.—**Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit** (lic. Dec. 2, 1578). The late Prof. Morley's copy unique. 2nd ed., also 1579, Bodl. 6 ed. in 2 years. Last old ed. 1636.

ii. 1580.—**Euphues and his England.** Prof. Morley's copy unique. 2nd ed., also 1580, Bodl. Both these repr. Arber *Reprints*, 1868; and as No. 4 of *Englische Sprach und Litteratur denkmäler des 16, 17, und 18 Jahrhunderts*, ed. Dr. F. Landmann, with 32 pp. of Introduction. In 1716 a modernised ed. had been issued as *Euphues and Lucilla;* reissued 1718 as *The False Friend and the Inconstant Mistress*.

Attributed to Lyly—

Pappe with an hatchet, 1589, *anon.* (E. W. ix. 305, see Note.) Collier, *H. Dram. Poet.* III. p. 4, assigns it to Lyly; *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, also. Maskell *Hist. of Martin Marprelate*, p. 214, doubted this, but attrib. **An Almond for a Parrott** to Lyly.

N.B.—Two letters by Lyly to Lord Burghley (May 16, 1574,

and July, 1582) were printed by Fairholt from Lansdowne MS.; also two undated petitions to Q. Elizabeth [1590-3] in. Harl. MS. 1877, fol. 71. Lyly prefixed a letter to Thos. Watson's *Ἑκατομπαθία*, 1582, and Latin verses in praise of the Queen to Hy. Lok's *Ecclesiastes*, 1597—a work described Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 478-82.

MARLOWE, CHRISTOPHER. 1564—1593. Poet and Dramatist.

Besides the "Introductions" and references under particular works, *infra*, the following may be consulted :—J. A. Symonds' *Predecessors of Shak.* 1884, chap. xv. 581-668.—A. Ward, *Eng. Dram. Lit.* I. 173-203—Collier *Hist. Dram. Poet.* II. 107, etc. (ed. 1870)—A. W. Verity, *The influence of Ch. M. on Shakespeare's Earlier Style*, pp. 108, 1886 (Harness Prize Essay)—*Gentleman's Mag.* 1800, five good papers by Jas. Broughton—*Universal Review*, 1889, IV. 382, &c. (J. H. Ingram).

WORKS.—1826, 3 vols. (with a "Life" by G. Robinson)—1850, 3 vols. A. Dyce, with "Preface"—1870, Lt.-Col. Francis Cunningham, 1 vol. pp. xxii. 376—1885, 3 vols. A. H. Bullen (excellent Introduction). *Mermaid Series*, 1887, contains 5 plays with Introd. pp. xlviii. (Havelock Ellis).

DRAMA.

1. 1590.—8° *anon.* **Tamburlaine** Pts. I. and II. (wr. 1587?), Bodl. and Duke of Devonshire's Lib. Repr. 1592, 8°, B. M. Pt. I. repr. 1605; II. 1606, 4° B. M. 1885, ed. Albrecht Wagner, Heilbronn.
2. 1604.—4°. **Faustus** (Bodl. unique). Wr. 1588?. Ent. *Stat. Reg.* Jan. 7, 1600-1, but no earlier ed. known. Repr. 1609 (Hamburg Town Lib. unique), 1611, 1616, with many alterations, with which the reprints of 1619, '20, '24, and '31 usually agree; 1663, a corrupt text—1877 and '85 ed. Wilhelm Wagner—1878 and '87, *Clar. Press*, ed. A. W. Ward, with excellent Introd.—1889, H. Breymann, Heilbronn, pr. the 1604 and '16 quartos side by side. See *Anglia* I. 1878, p. 44 (H. Düntzer); 1880, III. 88-96, (L. Prōscholdt, "Collation der 4°," etc.); IV. 288-91 (H. Breyman), and V. 134-6 (K. J. Schroër); *Eng. Stud.* V. 56-66, H. Breymann; *Marlowe's Faustus und seine Quelle*, 1881, Bielefeld (N. Delius); *Literary relations of Eng. and Germany*, p. 197, etc. (Prof. C. H. Herford).
3. **The Jew of Malta.** Acted after 1588, ent. *Stat. Reg.* May 17, 1594; not pr till 1633, 4° (ed. by Thos. Heywood). Repr. *Dodsley* 1780; and ed. 1818, W. Oxberry. *Eng. Stud.* X. 80-110, has a paper by Leon Kellner on the sources of the play.

4. **Edward II.** Wr. 1593?; entered *Stat. Reg.* July 6, 1593; pr. 1594. (Cassel Publ. Lib. unique). 1598, B. M. and Bodl. 1612, 1622. 1877, ed. F. G. Fleay; 1879 and '87, *Clar. Press* (O. W. Tancock).
5. **Massacre of Paris.** First acted Jan. 3, 1592-3; pr. [n.d.] (prob. 1600). B. M., Bodl., and Pepys Lib., Camb.
6. **Tragedy of Dido.** Wr. with, or completed by, T. Nash; pr. 1594. Bodl., Bridgwater House, and Devonshire Lib.

N.B.—*Lust's Dominion; or, The Lascivious Queen*, pr. 1657 as by "Ch. Marloe," was probably wr. by Dekker, Haughton, and Day, as shown by Collier, 1826. See *Dekker*. Repr. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, 1874, XIV.

TRANSLATIONS.

1. **Ovid's Amores.** Pr. 3 times [n d.], together with the Epigrams of Sir J. Davis (q.v.).
2. **Hero and Leander.** A fragment of two "sestiads" from Musaeus. Ent. *Stat. Reg.* Sept. 28, 1593; pr. 1598. Geo. Chapman (q.v.) completed the trans., and the complete work was also pr. 1598, B. M.; 1600, '6, '13, '17, '29, and '37. Repr. 1814 Brydges' *Restituta;* and 1821 (ed. by S. W. Singer), with critical preface, pp. lxvi. 124.
3. **Lucan's Pharsalia,** Bk. I. Ent. *Stat. Reg.* Sept. 28, 1593; pr. 1600 4°. Repr. *Specimens of Blank Verse before Milton* (Bishop Percy).

MARTIN MARPRELATE CONTROVERSY.

Prof. Arber's *Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy* (English Scholars' Library, VIII. Three Shillings) supersedes all preceding works, to which reference will be found in it. B. M. and Lambeth Libraries have good collections of the pamphlets: a number were reprinted in *Puritan Discipline Tracts*. Prof. Arber has also repr. several. The following list is based wholly on Arber, pp. 197-200, where full titles will be found. The names "Episcopalian" and "Puritan" are here adopted, however, rather than those of Arber: and the pamphlets are classified. *The second figures —numerals— indicate the order in which the pamphlets appeared.*

I.—PRELIMINARY WORKS.

(a) Episcopal.

A Defence of the Government established in the Church of Englande for Ecclesiasticall Matters. 1587, Dr. John Bridges, Dean of Salisbury. (See *Bridges.*)

(b) Puritan.

1. **Diotrephes,** by Rev. J. Udall (Arber); pr. Ap. 13, 1588.
2. **The Demonstration of Discipline,** etc., pr. East Molesey, July: issued between November 1 and 14, 1588.

II.—PURITAN MARPRELATE PAMPHLETS (all, except 1, issued 1589).

1.—I. **The Epistle**, B. M. pr. East Molesey, Oct.: issued with the "Demonstration" *supra*.
2.—III. **The Epitome**, B. M. pr. Fawsley, Nov.-Dec. 1588, issued *circ.* Feb. 2, 1589.
3.—IV. **The Mineral Conclusions.** Pr. Coventry; issued *circ.* Feb. 20.
4.—VI. **A Supplication to the Parliament**, by John Penry. Pr. Coventry; issued *circ.* Mar. 9.
5.—VII. **Hay any Work for Cooper.** B. M. Pr. Coventry; issued *circ.* Mar. 23.
6.—XIII. **Theses Martinianæ; or, Martin Junior.** B. M. Pr. Wolston; issued *circ.* July 22.
7.—XIV. **Martin Senior.** B. M. Pr. ditto; issued *circ.* July 29.
8.—XV. **A Dialogue.** *Wherein is plainly laide open the tyrrannicall dealing of L. Bishopps against God's children*, etc. B. M. Pr. at Rochelle (summer.)
9.—XVIII. **The Protestation.** Pr. Hasely, *circ.* Sept.

III.—EPISCOPALIAN PAMPHLETS. (Nos. 1—12 in 1589.)

1.—II. **An Admonition to the People of England.** B. M. Jan. (? 2 editions). By T(homas) C(ooper), Bishop of Winchester. (See *Cooper.*)
2.—V. **Sermon at St. Paul's Cross**, Feb. 9. Ent. *Stat. Reg.* Mar. 3. (Rev. R. Bancroft.)
3.—VIII. **A Whip for an Ape.** B. M. Pr. Lond., April (Verse).
4.—IX. **Mar-Martin.** B. M. Pr. Lond., Apr.-May.
5.—X. **A godlie treatise**, examining the "execrable fancies" of Hy. Barrowe, John Greenewood, and others. (By Rev. R. Some.) Ent. *Stat. Reg.* May 24.
6.—XI **A bayte for Momus**, by Rev. T. Bland. Ent. *Stat. Reg.* June 7.
7.—XII. **Anti-Martinus.** B. M. Ent. *Stat. Reg.* July 3.
8.—XVI. **Pasquill of England. A Counter cuffe to Martin Junior.** B. M. Pr. August. (See *Nash.*)
9.—XVII. **Martin's Month's Mind**, by "Marphoreus." B. M. Pr. August. See *Nash* (also for No. 11, *infra*).
10.—XIX. **Pappe with an Hatchet.** B. M. Pr. *circ.* Sept. (See *Lyly*).
11.—XX. **Pasquil of England. His Return.** B. M. Pr. Oct.
12.—XXI. **A Myrrour for Martynistes**, by "T. T." Ent. *Stat. Reg.* Dec. 22.
13.—XXII. **An Admonicion to Martin Marprelat**, etc., by L. Wright. Ent. *Stat. Reg.* Jan. 19, 1590.
14.—XXIII. **The Lamb of God**, by R(ichard) H(arvey). 1590.
15.—XXIV. **An Almond for a Parrot**, by "Cuthbert Curry-Knave." B. M. 1590. (See *Lyly.*)

IV.—Other Pamphlets.

1.—Between IX. and X. **Marre Mar-Martin.** *Anon.* Pr. Lond., May—June, 1589. Attacks both sides.

2.—After XXIII. **P. P. P., i.e. Plain Perceval the Peacemaker of England; his Reconciliation,** etc. 1590. Neutral.

3.—XXV. **Sir Marten Marr-people,** by J. Davies. Ent. *Stat. Reg.* Oct. 28, 1590. (See *Sir J. Davies.*)

MELVILLE, SIR JAS. 1535—1617. Autobiographer.

1683.—**Memoirs of his own Life,** 1549-1593; pub. (from MS. found at Edin. Castle 1660) by Geo. Scott of Pitlochrie, M.'s grandson. Valuable for contemporary history. Repr. 1735, 1751, and '52. Latest and best ed. 1827, for *Bannatyne Club;* reissued 1833 for *Maitland Club.* All in B. M. E. W. viii. 354-6.

MELVILLE (MELVILL), JAMES. 1556—1614. Reformer.

1829.—**The Diary of James Melville** (1556-1601; pp. iii. 351). Pr. *Bannatyne Club* from MS. in Advocates' Lib. Edin. Repr. 1844 *Wodrow Soc.* pp. lxxviii. 841, with a continuation (1596 to 1610), from another MS. in same Lib. Very valuable for contemporary ecclesiastical history. E. W. viii. 352-3. A list of M.'s other works is given in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* xxxvii. 241-4 (T. F. Henderson).

MERES, FRANCIS. 1565—1647. Clergyman, Translator, Prose Writer.

1598.—**Palladis Tamia: Wits Treasury;** *being a second part of Wits Commonwealth* (see *J. Bodenham*). B. M. 2 copies. (E. W. x. 362-71.) Repr. 1634. B. M. The passages relating to Elizabethan literature repr. by Haslewood, *Critical Essays,* Vol. II. 1816; in *Shak. Allusion Bks.,* Pt. I. 151-67, *New Shak. Soc.* 1874; and by Prof. Arber *Eng. Garner* II. p. 94, etc.

N.B.—*The Wits Theater,* 1599 (see *Allot*), formed the third "part"; and *Palladis Palatium, Wisedoms Pallace, or the fourth part of Wits Commonwealth,* 1604 (Lamport Hall, unique), ascribed *Stat. Reg.* III. 264, Arber's *Transcript,* to Wm. Wrednot, completes the series.

Religious Works.

1. 1597.—**Gods Arithmeticke.** A sermon. B. M.

2. TRANSLATIONS from Luis de Grenada.
   (*a*) 1598.—**Granados Devotion**, *exactly teaching how a man may truely dedicate and deuote himself vnto God.* B. M.
   (*b*) 1614.—**Sinners Guide.** *A Worke contayning the whole Regiment of Christian Life.* (Dedication dated May 10, 1598.) B. M.

VERSE.

1595.—Verses signed F. M. in *Paradise of Dainty Devices* are probably his; and possibly he wrote the Latin epigram signed "Francis Meares" before Randolph's *Jealous Lover*, 1640.

MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES.

Corser VIII. 418-30 gives good accounts of the various editions. Haslewood's Preface to 1815 ed. Huth Library Catalogue, 974-8. E. W. viii. 237-41.

N.B.—All the early editions were in quarto.

1. 1559.—**A Myrrovre for Magistrates.** 162 pp. This ed. by Baldwin contained 19 legends; 20 are mentioned in the table at end; "*Good duke Humfrey murdered, and Elianor his wife banished*" being omitted. Baldwin wrote 4 (*Richard, earl of Cambridge; Th. Montague, E. of Salisbury; Wm. de la Pole; Jack Cade*); Geo. Ferrers, 3 (*Tresilian; Gloucester; Rich. II.*); Th. Phaer, 1 (*Owen Glendour*); Cavyll, 1 (*The two Mortimers*); Challoner, 1 (*Norfolk*); Skelton, 1 (*Ed. IV.*). Jos. Haslewood ed. 1815, Introd. p. xix. assigns (very doubtfully) the remaining 8 to the editor, Baldwin.

   N.B.—This ed. extended chronologically from 1388 (*Tresilian*) to 1483 (*Ed. IV.*). In later editions the 19 legends in this period were increased to 22.

2. 1563.—4°. B. L. 2nd. ed. **A Myrrovr for Magistrates.** A reprint of the 1559 ed., with 8 new legends. Folio lxxxvi. has the heading, *The seconde Parte of the Mirrour for Magistrates*, and opens with a very interesting preface by Baldwin, who wrote 2 new legends (*Earl Rivers*, and *Collingborn*). Th. Sackville wrote the *Induction* and *Buckingham;* Dolman, *Hastings;* Segar, *Rich. III.;* Th. Churchyard, *Jane Shore;* Cavyll, *The Blacksmith and Lord Awdely.* The remaining legend, *Edmund Somerset*, is assigned by Haslewood to Baldwin. Repr. 1571. Again in 1574 as **The Last parte of the Mirour for Magistrates** (called the "last part" on account of the issue by the same printer, Marshe, of the new "*First*" Part, 1574); a repr. of the 1571 ed. with 24 stanzas added to *Lord Hastings*. Repr. 1575; and in 1578, with 2 legends added by Geo. Ferrers, *Dame Eleanor Cobham, and Plantagenet D. of Gloucester.*

   N.B.—This extends chronologically to 1485.

3. 1574.—**The First Parte of the Mirrour for Magistrates.** 16 legends from the coming of Brute to the Incarnation, preceded by an Induction: by John Higgins. (*Albanact, Humber, Locrinus, Elstride, Sabrine, Madan, Malin, Mempricius, Bladud, Cordila, Morgan, Ferrex, Porrex, Kimarus, Morindus, Nennius.*) Repr. 1575 with the legend of *Irenglas* added.

N.B.—The mythical chronology of this portion extends from 1085 B.C., *Albanact*, to 52 B.C., *Nennius*. The added "*Irenglas*" is assigned to 51 B.C.

4. 1578.—**The Seconde part of the Mirrour for Magistrates,** by T. Blenerhasset (printed not by Marshe, but by Rich. Webster). 12 legends, in continuation of Higgins' work, from Cæsar to Wm. the Conqueror:—*Guidericus, Carassus, Hellina, Vortiger, Pendragon, Cadwallader, Sigebert, Lady Ebbe, Alurede, Egelrede, Edricus, Harold.* The only edition of this part. Fully described in *Bibl. Angl. Poet.*, where the interesting epistle to the reader is printed in full.

N.B.—Except for the isolated legend of *Guidericus* (46 A.D), this extends from 293 A.D. (*Carassus*) to 1066 (*Harold*). It is in keeping with some of the other chronology that "Harold" is dated 1095!

5. 1587.—**The Mirour for Magistrates,** *with the addition of diuers Tragedies.* The most complete Elizabethan form of the work, containing 73 legends and Sackville's "Induction." Edited by Thos. Newton for Marshe the printer, who here united his earlier issues (Nos. 2 and 3, *supra*, edited by Baldwin and Higgins), with 29 new legends. These included various additions to the earliest portion (Higgins had in this ed. 40 legends up to A D. 209), and scattered legends in the later portions; *e.g.* Higgins' *Sir Nicholas Burdet, slain 1446*, and Th. Churchyard's *Cromwell* (1540).

N.B.—Blenerhasset's portion (No. 4, *supra*) could not be included, as it belonged to another printer. The gap thus left—A.D. 293-1066—was unfilled, but was led up to by adding legends bringing No. 3, *supra*, down to A.D. 209. No attempt was made to fill the gap from 1066 to 1388 (see No. 1).

6. 1610.—A post-Elizabethan edition, **A Mirovr for Magistrates,** *newly enlarged with a last part.* Edited and partly written by Rich. Niccols. Blenerhasset's portion was here included with those of Higgins and Baldwin; two legends (out of his 12) being replaced by others—a *Guidericus*" from the 1587 ed. wr. by Higgins; an "*Alured*" by Niccols. The concluding portion, called *A Winter Nights Vision*, contained 10 new legends, four of which attempt to fill the gap from 1066-1388 (*Rob. D. of Normandy, Rich. I., John, Ed. II.*). Four more deal with earlier legends—*Arthur, Ed. Ironside, Prince Alfred*, and *Godwin*. The two remaining are on the *Two Princes* and *Richard III.* According to the table of contents, this vol. contained 91 legends. Besides the 10 new

tragedies, Niccols wrote a concluding poem (463 7-line stanzas besides Introduction), called *Englands Eliza*. This ended the volume.

7. 1815.—Joseph Haslewood reprinted in 3 vols. the whole collection (96 legends in all) arranged in five "Parts," with notes and Introduction. 150 copies printed.

MISCELLANIES.

1. 1557.—**Songes and Sonnettes**, etc. (E. W. viii. 212), usually called "Tottel's Miscellany." 1st ed. June 5; 2nd, July 31. (See *Tottel.*)
2. 1576.—**The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises.** (See *Richard Edwards.*)
3. 1578.—**A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions** (See *Thos. Proctor.*)
4. 1584.—**A Handefull of pleasant delites.** (See *Clement Robinson.*)
5. 1593.—**The Phœnix Nest.** (See "*R. S.*" [unknown]).
6. 1600.—**Englands Helicon.** (See *John Bodenham.* 2nd ed., 1614.)
7. 1602.—**A Poetical Rapsody.** ed. Francis Davison. Bodl. (unique). Repr. 1608, with many additions (Britwell); 1611 (with additions) B. M.; 1621 (newly arranged) B. M. Modern repr.: 1814 (S. E. Brydges); 1824 (Sir H. Nicholas); 1867 (Collier, *vide infra*); 1890, 2 vols. (A. H. Bullen).

N.B.—The following four works are not "Miscellanies," but books of extracts.

i. 1600.—**Englands Parnassus,** *or the choycest Flowers of our moderne Poets, with their Poeticall comparisons.* This consists of classified poetical extracts.

ii. 1600.—**Belvedere or the Garden of the Muses,** is a collection of poetical "scraps," usually only of two lines. Repr. 1610. (See *John Bodenham.*)

iii. and iv. 1597.—**The Wits Commonwealth**; and 1599, **The Wits Theater**, contain brief prose extracts. (See *John Bodenham*, and *Allott.*)

N.B.—The "Mirror for Magistrates" may, in a sense, be ranked with the Miscellanies; but the nature of the work, and the length of the "poems," quite exclude it from the above list.

Collier, in *Seven English Miscellanies*, reprinted, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, and "Englands Parnassus."

MULCASTER, RICHARD. 1530?—1611. Head-master of Merchant Taylors' and St. Paul's Schools.

R. H. Quick's "Introduction," *infra*. *Richard Mulcaster and his "Elementarie,"* pp. 20, 1893 (being a repr. from *Educational*

Times, Jan. 1, 1893, of a lecture by Foster Watson). *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1800, Pt. I. and II., 3 articles. *Hist. of Merchant Taylors' School.* (H. B. Wilson.) *Leben und Werke, Rich. Mulcaster's*, pp. 58. (Theodor Klaekr, Dresden, 1893.)

PROSE.

i. 1581.—**Positions . . . for the Training up of Children.** B. M. Repr. '87 and '91. Edited, with excellent account of life and writings, pp. xxii. 309, by R. H. Quick. 1888.

ii. 1582.—**The First Part of the Elementarie,** *of the right Writing of the English Tongue*, pp. 272. B. M. (Full title, E. W. ix. 186).

iii. 1599.—**Catechismus Paulinus** (for the use of the St. Paul's boys). The preface has interesting autobiographical matter.

VERSE.

1603. **In Mortem Serenissimæ Reg. Elis.** B. M.; and scattered Latin verses before Baret's *Alvearie*, 1580; Ocland's *Prælia* and *Eirenarchia*, 1580 and '82; and Hakluyt's *Voyages.*

MUNDAY, ANTHONY. 1553—1633. Dramatist and Translator.

Dict. of Nat. Biog., xxxix. 290–7. (Thos. Seacombe.) Collier's Introd. to "John a Kent," *Shak. Soc.* 1851. Corser IX. 30-9. Mr. Seacombe's article gives copious references.

DRAMA.

1. **John a Kent and John a Cumber.** Repr. *Shak. Soc.* 1851. ed. Collier, with Introduction.
2. **The Downfall of Rebert, Earl of Huntingdon.** Acted Feb. 1597-8; pr. 1601. (B. M. and Bodl.) Repr. Hazlitt's *Dodsley* VIII., with a very insufficient Introd.
3. **The Death of Rob., E. of Huntingdon.** (Wr. with Chettle; see Henslowe's Diary, p. 119, Feb. 1597-8.) Pr. 1601. Bodl. and B. M. Repr. Hazlitt's *Dodsley* VIII. (See *Chettle.*) Edited, with No. 2, by Collier. 1828.
4. **The First Part of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle.** Two ed., 1600. B. M. See E. W. x. 398; xi. 277 and p. 400.

Of the fourteen other plays mentioned in Henslowe's Diary, nothing else is known.

PAGEANTS.

Between 1605 and 1623 Munday produced eight civic pageants. The first ed. of all but one—*Chryso-Thriambos*—are in B. M. This is in the Duke of Devonshire's Lib. Full list, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

TRANSLATIONS OF ROMANCES.

1. 1588.—**Palladino of England.** Britwell.
2. 1588.—**Palmerin d'Oliva.** Britwell. In 1597 the Second part. Britwell.

3. 1589.—**Historie of Palmendos, Son to . . . Palmerin d'Oliva.** Repr. 1653. B. M.
4. 1592.—**Gerileon of England.** Britwell.
5. 1595.—**Amadis de Gaule**: the first Book. B. M. and Britwell. The same year "the Second Booke." Both repr. 1619 with Bks. III. and IV. added. B. M.
6. 1602.—**Palmerin of England.** B. M. Repr. 1609, '16, '39, '64. (All in B. M.)
7. 1619.—**Primaleon of Greece,** *Sonne to Palmerin d'Oliva.* B. M. 1st extant ed., but known to have been pub. 1595. Mr. Thos. Seacombe, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, gives a further list of twenty-four "miscellaneous works."

NASH, THOMAS. 1567—1601. Pamphleteer, Satirist, Dramatist.

Grosart's "Introduction," Vol. I. pp. xi.—lxxi.; and Vol. VI. pp. vii.—xxxix. Introd. to Collier's Reprint of No. 7 *infra.* Gosse's preface to reprint of No. 11 *infra.* Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 1-19. Corser IX. 44-65. *Athen. Cantab.* II. 306-9 (this rashly assigns 26 works to Nash: on this see Grosart's Introduction). *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (S. Lee) excellent. Both of the latter give references.

WORKS —ed. Grosart, 6 vols. Huth Library. 1883—5.

PLAYS.

1. 1594.—**The Tragedie of Dido.** Written with Ch. Marlowe (q.v.). E.W. x. 127-31.
2. 1600.—(Acted 1593) **Summers last Will & Testament,** a comedy, B. M. etc. Repr. Hazlitt's *Dodsley* VIII., with Collier's Preface. E.W. x. 198-200.

N.B.—For the lost play, **The Isle of Dogs,** see E. W. x. 204.

PROSE.

1. 1589.—**The Anatomie of Absurditie.** E. W. ix. 286-8. Britwell only perf. copy; Bodl. imperf. Repr. 1590. B. M.

2—5. Martin Marprelate Tracts.

(*a*) 1589.—**A Countercuffe giuen to Martin Iunior.** B. M. and Huth Lib.

(*b*) 1589.—**Martins Months Minde** (Grosart prints this as by Nash: the authorship, however, is not certain. See *Brit. Bibl.* II. 124-127).

(*c*) 1589.—**The Returne of Pasquill of England.** B. M., Huth, etc.

(*d*) 1590.—**The First parte of Pasquils Apologie.** B. M. etc.

6. 1591.—**A Wonderful . . . Astrologicall Prognostication.** Bodl.
7. 1592.—**Pierce Pennilesse his Svpplication to the Diuell.** 2 copies of Rich. Jhones' unauthorised ed. are known; Britwell and Rowfant Libraries. The authorised ed. of 1592, pr. by Abel Jeffes, is in B. M., Bodl., etc. 1593 and '5 B. M. Repr., *Shak. Soc.* ed. Collier, 1842. E. W. x. 166-73.

8. 1592.—**"Foure letters confuted."** B. M. Full title, etc. E. W. x. 189-92. Repr. 1593 as *An Apologie for Pierce Pennilesse*, Huth Lib. Modern reprint, Collier, 1867.
9. 1593.—**Christs Teares over Ierusalem.** B. M., etc. Repr. 1594, 1613. E. W. x. 192-4.
10. 1594.—**The Terrors of the Night.** Bodl., etc. E. W. x. 200-1.
11. 1594.—**The Unfortunate Traveller,** *or the Life of Iack Wilton.* B. M., etc. E. W. x. 201-4. Repr. 1892 *Chiswick Press*, ed. Edw. Gosse.
12. 1596.—**Haue with you to Saffron-Walden.** B. M., etc. E. W. x. 195-8.
13. 1600.—**Nashes Lenten Stuffe.** B. M., etc. Repr. *Harl. Miscell.* E. W. x. 204-6.

N.B.—Tanner MSS.; and Inner Temple MSS. 538, Vol. XLIII.; contain *The Choosing of Valentines* (narrative verse). Grosart's Introd., Vol. I. p. lx., gives the opening lines; the whole is unfit for reproduction. Nash's "Letter" prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589, is described, E. W. ix. 280-5.

NEVILLE, ALEXANDER. 1544—1614. Scholar, Translator.

1563.—**The lamentable Tragedie of Oedipus.** B. M. A trans. from Seneca, made in 1560, when N. was 16. Repr. in Th. Newton's *Seneca his Tenne Tragedies*, 1581.

For his lengthy Latin account of Ket's Rebellion in 1549 (pr. 1575, 202 leaves); its translation by Rich. Woods; his *Apology to Wales;* and his Latin verses on Sir Ph. Sidney, see Lowndes, p. 1661-2; or *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (S. Lee) which gives references. The trans. from Livy (*Stat. Registers*, 1576) mentioned by Tanner, 543-4, is unknown: doubtless it was never completed.

NEWTON, THOMAS. 1542 *circa*—1607. Translator.

Wood (Bl.) II. 5-12. *Athen. Cantab.* II. 452-4, gives list of 20 Works, and scattered verses; Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 26-31; Ritson, *Bibl. Poet.* 285-7; Lowndes, p. 1676, and under 'Leminius," "Seneca," etc.; Gray's Index to Hazlitt, pp. 543-4.

1. 1575.—**A Notable Historye of the Saracens . . .** *Drawen out of Augustine Curio and sundry other good Authours.* Newton's chief work. See Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 29-31.
2. 1581.—**Seneca his tenne Tragedies translated into Englysh.** B. M. Edited by Th. Newton, who trans. the **Thebais.** (See *Jasper Heywood, A. Neville, T. Nuce, J. Studley.*) E. W. viii. 219-221.

N.B.—For Newton's other translations from Cicero (*de Senectute, Scipio's Dream, etc.*) from L. Daneau, G.

Gratarolus, L. Leminius, Rutilius Rufus, etc. (See references *supra.*)

3. For scattered verses, see Ritson and *Athen. Cantab.*

N.B.—The following are held to be by *another* Th. Newton:—

1. 1603.—**Atropoion Delion, or the death of Delia.** Verses on the death of Elizabeth. Repr. in Nichol's *Progresses of Elizabeth*, III. 628-39. (Dedic. signed *Tho. Newton.*)
2. 1604.—**A fragrant Posie made of . . . Rosa, Rosalynd, & Rosemary.** (A Romance.)

NORTH, SIR THOMAS. Born *circa* 1535—alive in 1600. Translator.

Athen. Cantab. II. 350-1, states what is known, and gives authorities.

1. 1557.—**The Diall of Princes.** B. M., a trans. from Antonio de Guevara's *Libro Aureo*, which was a Spanish adaptation of Marcus Aurelius' "*Meditations.*" North translated from the French, except the last part, which was from Spanish direct.
2. 1570.—**The Morall Philosophie of Doni,** *englished out of Italian.* (Bodl.) Repr. 1601. B. M.; unique. This work, "the first literary link between India and England, between Buddhism and Christendom," was repr. 1880 by David Nutt (ed. by Joseph Jacobs), as *The earliest English version of the Fables of Bidpai*, with an interesting introduction, pp. xi.—lxvii. These Eastern fables were translated into all European languages, North's original being the Italian version of 1552, by Antonio Francesco Doni (1513—1574). (See also Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 54-5.)
3. 1579.—**The Lives of the noble Grecians and Romanes compared togethe**r . . . **by Plutarke**, englished from the French of J. Amyot. 8 editions up to 1676 (i.e. in 97 years); the fourth and later issues have additions by other hands. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 19.

NORTHBROOKE, JOHN. fl. 1570. Preacher, etc.

1577.—**A Treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing, vaine Playes, or Enterludes with other idle Pastimes . . . are reproved,** etc. The first distinct attack on plays, etc., probably preceding that of Gosson (q.v.) by about six months. Repr. 1579, B. M.; and by *Shak. Soc.*, 1843, with Introd. by Collier. This, as well as Lowndes, p. 1704, mentions N.'s other works.

NORTON, THOMAS, 1532—84. Lawyer, Translator, Pamphleteer.

The Introduction, pp. xxx.-lviii., to the *Shak. Soc.* reprint of "Gorboduc" (W. D. Cooper), gives a full account of Norton's life and works, quoting letters, etc. Wood (Bl.) I. 185-6; Lowndes, p. 1706; and Hazlitt's *Handbook*, give lists of

works (the latter is least full). *Athen. Cantab.* I. 485-90, (with references), gives 24 numbers.

For "Gorboduc," see *Sackville, Thos.*

For the Anti-papist pamphlets, that on Northumberland's Rebellion, and on the proposed marriage of Norfolk and Mary Queen of Scots, etc., see references, *supra*, and Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 57-60. Norton also translated Calvin's "Institutes," and Dean Nowell's "Catechism."

NUCE, THOMAS. d. 1617. Translator.

n.d. [1561 ?].—**The ninth Tragedie of L. A. Seneca, called Octavia**; *Translated out of Latine into English by T. N.* B. M., See Corser IX. 78-81. Repr. 1581, in *Seneca his tenne Trageaies.* (See *Newton.*)

PAINTER, WILLIAM. *Circa* 1537. Translator.

E. W. viii. 287-93. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 86-8. The Introd. to Jacobs' ed., *infra.*, pp. xi.-xxxvi., is followed by a reprint of Haslewood's preface, 1813 (xxxvii-lii.); documents relating to Painter (liii.-lxii.); and an analytical table indicating the originals of the novels and parallels (lxiii.-xci).

1566.—**The Palace of Pleasure.** Pt. I., B. M. (60 novels). Repr. 1569, B. M. (with 5 additional novels, and a revised text); and 1575.

1567.—"The Second Tome." B. M. (34 novels). Repr., [n.d.], but prob. 1575, with Pt. I. revised, and one tale added. The two vols. then contained 100 novels.

The work was first licensed in 1562 as the *Cytie of Cyvelite* (*sic* Arber, I. 204). Repr. 1813, 2 vols in 3 (J. Haslewood); and 1890, 3 vols., 4°, ed. by Joseph Jacobs; pub. David Nutt. The "Rhomeo and Iulietta" has been repr. in Collier's *Shak. Lib.*, 1843; in "Originals and Analogues," Pt. I. *New Shak. Soc.*, 1876; (ed., P. A. Daniel); and in abridged form, Cassell's *Nat. Lib.*, No. 148, 1888.

N.B.—1560.—Painter prefixed a prose address, and a Latin tetrastich to Fulke's *Anti-prognosticon.*

1560.—He issued a translation of this work, adding a "short treatise" on the same subject. Repr. 1561. See *Fulke.*

Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 87, and I. 18, ascribes *Four great dyers striving who shall win the Silver Whetstone*, pr., [n.d.], by "W. P.", to Painter. *Athen. Cantab.* II. 529, gives it to Wm. Parys.

PALSGRAVE, JOHN. *circa* 1480—1554. Queen Mary's teacher.

1. 1530.—**Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse.** B. M. (Full title E. W. viii. 11, with an account of the work.) Repr.

1852, in *Collection des documents inédits*, together with the "grammar," by Giles Dewes. B. M. E. W. viii. 13*n*.

2. 1540.—**The Comedye of Acolastus translated into oure englysshe tongue**, B. M. Text and free translation of the Latin play by Wm. Fullonius (i.e. Willem de Volder), of which there had been 20 issues up to 1540. Dedicated to Henry VIII. Repr. 1891 as No. 1 of *Lateinische Litteratur denkmäler des XV. and XVI. Jahrhunderts.* (See E. W. viii. 89-97, and the note on p. 97.)

PARKER, MATTHEW. 1504—1575. Archbishop of Canterbury.

John Strype's *Life and Acts of M. P.*, 1711, folio; rep. 3 vols. *Clar. Press* 1821, both with portrait. Dean Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, IX. pp. 592, with references on p. 1 (*Note*). *Parker Soc.* 1852, "The Correspondence of M. Parker." Corser IX. 105-110 gives an account of the **Whole Psalter trans. into Eng. Metre**, pr. 1560. The B. M. has Q. Elizabeth's copy of the **De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae**, 1572, curiously bound in velvet and silver. **A Defence of Priestes Mariages**, n. d. (B. M. Cat. says 1562?). (See Lowndes, p. 1776-8.)

PEELE, GEORGE. 1552—3?—dead in 1598. Dramatist and Poet.

1882. *George Peele . . . sein Leben und seine Werke* (R. Laemmerhirt). Dyce's account *infra*. J. A. Symonds' *Predecessors of Shakespeare*, 1884, 563-73. Ward, *Eng. Dram. Lit.* I. 203-13. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 144-6, and *Hist. Dram. Poet.* II.

WORKS.—1828. "Now first collected, with some account of his writings and notes," 2 vols. (Rev. A. Dyce), 2nd ed., 1829; a third vol. being added in 1839. Re-issued in one vol. with Greene's dramas and poems, 1861 and 1883. The account of Peele in this ed. extends from p. 323-346.

DRAMA.

1. 1584.—**The Araygnement of Paris**: a Pastorall. B. M. and Capell Coll.
2. 1593.—**Famous chronicle of King Edward the first.** B. M. and Bodl. Repr. 1599 B. M. and Bodl. In *Dodsley* XI.
3. 1594.—**The Battell of Alcazar.** B. M.
4. 1595.—**The Old Wiues Tale.** B. M.
5. 1599.—**The loue of King David and Fair Bethsabe.** B. M. Bodl. Repr. Hawkins' *Origin of Eng. Drama*, 1773, etc., and in Routledge's *Universal Library* (ed. Prof. Morley).

ATTRIBUTED TO (by Dyce).

1599.—**Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes.** B. M. Full title and analysis, E. W. ix. pp. 238-245. See also *Englische Studien*, 1889, xiii. 187-229, a paper by Leon Kellner.

LOST PLAYS.

1. **The Hunting of Cupid.** A pastoral drama, licensed and printed 1591 (see Dyce Introd. p. 336, ed. 1883). Dyce prints pp. 603-4, the existing fragments from MS. vol. of extracts, etc., by Wm. Drummond of Hawthornden, in poss. of Soc. of Scotch Antiquaries.
2. **The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek.** Mentioned in *The Jests of George Peele.* See Dyce, p. 341, ed. 1883.
3. **Iphigenia.** A trans. from one of the Iphigenias of Euripides. Dyce 345 note; and Halliwell *Dict. of Plays*, 129.

PAGEANTS AND DEVICES.

1. 1585.—**Pageant borne before Woolstone Dixi Lord Maior . . . of London.** Bodl. 126 lines.
2. 1591.—**Descensus Astrææ.** *A pageant borne before Mr. Wm. Web Lord Maior . . . of London*, Oct. 29, 1591 (Guildhall Lib. and B. M.). 146 lines. Repr. *Harl. Miscell.* X.
3. 1590.—**Polyhymnia.** *Describing the honourable Triumph at Tylt before her Maiestie, Nov. 17.* Repr. *Nichols' Progresses* of Q. Eliz. iii. 41.
4. **3 Speeches to Queen Eliz. at Theobald's,** May, 1591—*The Hermit's speech* (verse), *The Gardener's*, and *The Molecatcher's* (prose). The first pr. from MS. by Collier, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Poet.* I. 283-4. All three from Collier's MS. by Dyce.

N.B.—Hazlitt, *Handbook*, p. 450, No. 3, ascribes *The pageant borne before the Rt. Hon. Master Colthorpe Ld. Mayor of London*, Oct. 29, 1588, to Peele.

VERSE.

1. 1589.—**A Farewell . . . to Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake . . . *whereunto is annexed* A Tale of Troy.** 11 leaves. B. M. Tale of Troy repr. sep. 1604 as a "Thumb-book," a vol. 1½ in. long and 1 in. broad, 2 lines on a page; the text differs. Collier *Bibl. Cat.* II. 144-6.
2. 1589.—**An Eglogve Gratvlatorie** on the return of Essex from Portugal. Orig. ed. lost; pr. by Dyce from Heber's transcript, see p. 335, ed. 1883.
3. 1593.—**The Honovr of the Garter.** B. M. and Bodl. To the Earl of Northumberland on being installed K.G. 12 leaves.
4. [1830 *circa*].—**Anglorum Feriæ.** *Englands hollydayes. Celebrated Nov.* 17, 1595. 1st printed n. d. (*circ.* 1830) by Mr. Fitch of Ipswich from a MS. in Peele's writing. Repr. Dyce.
5. Scattered verses. 1582, Lines prefixed to T. Watson's Ἑκατομπαθία. 1593 in the *Phœnix Nest*, "The Praise of Chastity" (26 4-line verses and envoy). 1600 in *Eng. Parnassus*, two short pieces.
6. Dyce prints *A Merry Ballad of the Hawthorn tree* from Cotton MS. Vespasian A. 25, where Peele's name is appended. (Dyce p. 345 ed. 1883.)

N.B.—**The Merrie conceited Iests** (14) **of George Peele** are repr. by Dyce (see also his Introd., p. 329. 1st known ed. 1607: repr. 1626, '7, '57, '71 [n. d.], 1809.

PERCY, WILLIAM. 3rd Son of the 8th Earl of Northumberland d. 1648. Poet and Dramatist.

POEMS.

1594.—**Sonnets (20) to the Fairest Coelia.** E. W. x. 215. Repr. *Lee Priory Press* (S. E. Brydges) 1818, 100 copies; Arber *Eng. Garner*, Vol. VI; and Grosart 1877, with Introd. and Notes. E. W. x. 215.

PLAYS.

1824. 1.—**The Cuck-Queanes, and Cuckolds Errants.** A comedy.
2.—**The Faery Pastorall, or Forrest of Eluea.** Both ed. by J. A. Lloyd for *Roxburghe Club* from MS. in poss. of Jas. Haslewood. This MS., chiefly in Percy's handwriting, contains 6 plays, etc.

PETTIE, GEORGE. *circa* 1548-1589. Translator.

Wood (Bl.) I. 552-5. *Brit. Bibliog.* II. 393. E. W. viii. 295-7. No. 70 of *Quellen und Forschungen*, Strassburg, 1892; a paper in German by Dr. E. Köppel on the History of Italian Novels in Eng. Literature in XVI. Century.

1. [1576].—n.d. **A petite** (*sic*) **Pallace of Pettie his pleasure**, ent. Stat. Hall 1576. 5 editions by 1613. 12 tales: the first (*Sinorix and Camma*) being the subject of Tennyson's "Cup."
2. 1586.—**The ciuile Conuersation of M. Stephen Guazzo.** B. M. Pettie translated three of the four books of this Italian work from a French translation. (See *B. Young.*)

PHAER, Thomas. d. 1560. Translator, etc.

Wood (Bl.) I. 316-20. Collier *Bibl. Cat.* II. 151-4. E. W. viii. 221.

1. (*a*) 1558.—**The Seuen first Bookes of the Eneidos of Virgill.** B. M. Dedicated to Queen Mary.
(*b*) 1562.—**The nyne fyrst Bookes of the Eneidos of Virgil.** . . . *with so much of the tenth Booke as since his Death* (P. died 1560) *could be found.* B. M.
(*c*) In 1573 all 12 Books (completed by Thos. Twyne) appeared. B. M.; and 1583 XIII. Bks. B. M., the 13th being the "Supplement" of Maphaeus Vegius. Repr. '84, '96, 1600, 1607, and '20. (All in B. M.) (See *Twyne.*)
2. 1559.—**Owen Glendour**, in Mir. for Magistrates (q.v.).
3. 1566.—"*Serten verces of cupido by Mr. Fayre*" were licensed.

PROSE

(*a*) Medicine.

1544.—**The Regiment of Lyfe**, whereunto is added a *Treatise of the Pestilence;* with *the Booke of Children*, and a *Declaration of the veyns of Mans body.* Frequently repr.

(*b*) Legal.

(1) *Of the Nature of Writs;* and (2) *Exemplars . . . for Writing . . . Instruments;* (3) B. M. Cat. gives *Natura brevium.* Trans. [by T. P.?] 1535.

PILKINGTON, JAMES. 1520—1576. Bishop of Durham.

WORKS.—*Parker Soc.* 1841; ed. with biog. notice by Rev. James Scholefield. E. W. ix. 282.

PRESTON, THOS. M.A., LL.D. fl. 1560. Dramatist.

[1570?] n.d. **Cambises,** B.M. "a lamentable tragedy mixed ful of pleasant mirth." Acted *circa* 1561. Licensed to John Allde, 1569-70 (Collier's *Extracts from Stat. Reg.* I. 205). Second ed., also no date, may be *circa* 1585. (B. M. Cat. [1585?].) Repr. Hawkins' *Origin of old Eng. Drama* I.; and in Hazlitt's *Dodsley* IV., where Hawkins' preface is repeated as giving all that is known of the author. E. W. viii. 377.

PROCTOR (PROCTER), THOMAS. Miscellany Editor.

Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 197-202. Ritson, *Bibl. Poet.* 301.

1. 1578.—**A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions.** 60 leaves. Our third Miscellany, begun by Owen Roydon. Bodl. (Malone), supposed unique. Repr. *Heliconia* I. 1815 (ed. Park); *Roxburghe Club* 1844; and in Collier's *Seven English Miscellanies,* 1867, Vol. III.
2. **The Trivmph of Trueth,** etc., by "T. P." (at end is "Finis, Thos. Procter") See Hazlitt, *Handbook,* p. 484. Repr. Collier's *Illust. of Old Eng. Lit.* 1866, Vol. II.
3. 1610.—**A profitable Worke . . . concerning the mending of all Highways.** B. M. (under separate heading). Hazlitt *Handbook* says? "printed privately."

Attributed to (Lowndes, p. 1979)—

1578.—*Of the Knowledge and Conduct of Warres,* "by T. P."

PUTTENHAM, GEORGE. 1532—1590? Critic and Poet.

Arber, *Reprints,* in "Introduction," and "Personal Recollections of the Author," pp. 1-13, gives all that is known of Puttenham.

PROSE.

1589.—**The Arte of Englishe Poesie,** in three bookes. (*Anon.*) B. M., 2 copies, one being Ben Jonson's. Repr. *Ancient Critical Essays* (J. Haslewood), Vol. I. of the 2 vols. pr. 1811-16. Arber, *Reprints,* 1869 (pp. 14-6), states the evidence in favour of Puttenham's claim to the book.

N.B.—On p. 45 Arber's Reprint, Puttenham mentions his

"bookes of *Ierotekni*"; and p. 283, "our booke . . . *de Decoro*," these being lost works on poetry and poetic style; p. 156 "our bookes of the *originals and pedigree of the English tong*" are mentioned.

VERSE.

1811.—**Partheniades**, 17 poems, first pr. by Haslewood in his ed. of the "Arte of Eng. Poesie," from Cotton MS. *Vespasian E.* viii. pp. 169-78. The last of these poems fixes the date as 1579.

N.B.—In the "Arte of E. P.," reference is made to other verse:—p. 57, a little brief *Romance . . . of the Isle of Great Britaine*; p. 61, *Triumphals* in honour of the Queen's long peace; p. 244, *Minerua*, a hymn to the Queen; p. 256, *Philo Calia* (love poetry, quoted p. 110); p. 146, a comedy, *Ginecocratia*; two interludes, *Lustie London* (p. 183 and 208), and *The Wooer* (p. 212, 233). Nothing is known of these; p. 189-90 gives an *Epitaph* (4 lines) upon the author's friend, Sir John Throgmorton d. 1579.

"R. S." Miscellany Editor.

The Phoenix Nest. *Built vp with the most rare and refined Workes of Noble men, woorthy Knights, gallant Gentlemen, Masters of Arts and braue Schollers: Full of varietie, excellent inuention, and singular delight. Neuer before this time published. Set foorth by R. S., of the Inner Temple, Gentleman.* Imprinted at London by John Jackson. 4°. 1593. 55 leaves. See Corser X. 209-16; and Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 160-3. Reprinted (inaccurately) in *Heliconia* II. 1815.

Rob. Southwell, Rich. Stanyhurst, Rich. Stapylton, and Robert Smythe are some of the guesses at the unknown "R. S."

RALEIGH, SIR WALTER. 1552—1618. Courtier, Navigator, Historian, and Poet.

For information, see *The Bibliography of Sir W. Raleigh*, by T. N. Brushfield, M.D., 1886, Plymouth, being a reprint of 36 pp. (arranged under 20 headings, and a supplement) of a contribution to the *Western Antiquary*.

LIVES of Raleigh, by W. Oldys, before the 1736 ed. of the History of the World (repr. in "Works," 1829); by Birch in "Works," 1751; by Mrs. A. T. Thomson, 1830, London, pp. 496; by Edwards, 1868, an edition which gives in Vol. II. 166 letters (125 printed for the first time); J. Augustus St. John, 1868; Louise Creighton, 1877. in Historical Biographies Series; Charles Kingsley, "Sir W. Raleigh and his Time," 1880, being pp. 83-207 of Vol. XV. of K.'s works; Sir J. Pope Hennessy, "Sir W. Raleigh in Ireland," 1883.

WORKS.

"Now first collected," 1829, 8 vols., Oxford. In 1751 Th. Birch had edited some Miscellaneous Works. (See *Ed. Review* LXXI., p. 1, etc.)

POEMS.

1813.—**Poems now first collected.** (ed. S. E. Brydges, with Introduction, *Lee Priory Press*, 100 copies); repr. 1814, 150 copies. 1845. **Poems by Sir Hy. Wotton, Sir W. Raleigh, and others.** (Rev. John Hannah, who mentions 44 poems and prints 27); repr. 1857. The same editor, in his "**Courtly Poets from Raleigh to Montrose**, 1870 and '75, prints 30 poems.

PROSE.

1614.—**The History of the World, in Five Bookes.** B. M. 14 editions in 73 years. Repr. 1736, 2 vols. with a Life by Wm. Oldys; and at Edin. 1820, in 6 vols., some other works being added in Vol. VI.; also in the 1829 ed. of "Works." Abridgments have been issued.

(For other works, *see* Brushfield *supra*; also Lowndes, pp. 2038-41.)

RANKINS, WILLIAM. fl. 1587—1601. Pamphleteer and Dramatist.

Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 227-31, describes 1 and 3 *infra*. Full titles E. W. x. 401.

1. 1587.—**A Mirrovr of Monsters**, etc. 25 leaves. B. M.
2. 1588.—**The English Ape.** 16 l. Huth Lib.
3. 1598.—**Seauen satyres, etc.** 27 l.

PLAYS.—(Lost, but mentioned in Henslowe's "Diary.")

1. **Hannibal and Scipio** (Henslowe, p. 97 and 175, Jan. 3, 1600-1).
2. **A boocke wherein is Scogan and Skelton** (H., p. 175, Jan. 23, 1600-1).
3. **Conquest of Spain by John of Gaunt** (H., p. 185, Mar. 24, Apr. 4 and 11, 1601).

RICHE, BARNABY. Wrote from 1574—1624. Soldier and Miscellaneous Writer.

Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 242-60. Percy Soc. reprint of *The Honesty of this Age* gives in Introd., pp. v.-xxiv. the fullest account, meagre at best, of Riche, and contains a full list of works.

TALES.

1. 1581.—**The Straunge . . . adventures of Don Simonides** (prose and verse). In 1584 "The Second Tome" appeared. Both are in Bodl. and at Bridgewater House. See Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 244.
2. 1581.—**Riche his Farewell to Militarie Profession.** Bodl. This contained 8 "Histories" or novels (a ninth being added,

practically) in prose and verse. Repr. 1606. The *Shak. Soc.*, 1846, ed. Collier, reprinted the 1581 ed. (pp. v.-xv. 224) on account of the relation of one story, *Apolonius and Silla*, to "Twelfth Night." E. W. x. 344.

3. 1592.—**The Aduentures of Brusanus, Prince of Hungaria.** Dulwich College, unique. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 249-51.

N.B.—For Riche's other works, see Hazlitt's *Handbook*, 503-6 (27 numbers); and Lowndes, pp. 2082-4. They may be classified as:—**A**, 6 Works relating to Ireland. **B**, "Military" writings, either of a practical nature or bordering on fiction. **C**, Social (including his anti-papist writings). Of these, **The Honestie of this Age**, *prouing . . . that the World was neuer honest till now*, 1614 (B. M.), is the most famous. It is called by Riche in the "Epilogue" his 24th work, and was repr. by *Percy Soc.*, 1844 (ed. Peter Cunningham). Others are **Faultes, Faults, and nothing else but Faultes**, 1606; a Second part, 1609; and a "réchauffé" in 1616, as **My Ladies Looking Glasse. D, The Famous Hystory of Herodotus**, etc. (Bks. I. and II.) translated by "B. R.", is assigned to him. B. M. This was repr. 1888, ed. Andrew Lang, who describes the work as a treasure of old English slang, the style of the unknown "B. R." being colloquial and inaccurate; the translation, however, is made with point, breadth, and enjoyment.

ROBINSON, CLEMENT. Poet.

1584.—**A Handefull of pleasant delites**, *Containing sundrie new Sonets and delectable Histories, in diuers kindes of Meeter.* B. M. imperf., unique. [Entered *Stat. Register* summer of 1566 (Arber's *Transcript*, I. 313); but nothing known of any ed. before 1584, except a fragment pr. by Rev. J. W. Ebsworth in "Bagford Ballads." Pt. I. *Ballad Soc.* 1876; and repr., Arber's *Eng. Schol. Lib.* pp. xv.-xvi.] Repr. in T. Park's *Heliconia* II. 1815; *Spenser Soc.* 1871, facsimile ed. James Crossley; and Arber's *Eng. Schol. Lib.*, No. 3, 1878. An Elizabethan "song book" (the fourth of our seven Elizabethan "Miscellanies"), it contains 33 pieces, 8 being signed. See *Miscellanies.*

ROWLANDS, SAMUEL. 1573?—last mentioned 1628. Miscellaneous Verse Writer.

Complete works 1598-1628 now first collected. *Hunterian Club*, 1880, 3 vols. (ed. E. W. Gosse). Pp. 3-24 contain a Memoir; followed by 8 pp., giving Sir W. Scott's "Advertisement" to his reprint of *The Letting of Humours Blood*, 1815; and a "bibliographical Index" of 36 pp., with a list of 27 works, besides the miscellaneous poems. Facsimiles of orig. title-

pages are given throughout. Notes and Glossary at end of Vol. III. 24 works are repr., 3 being lost—*The Theatre of delightful Recreation; Six London Gossips;* and *The Bride.* The broadside *Sir Thos. Overbury* is pr. among the miscellaneous poems. Hazlitt, *Handbook,* gives list of 26 works, pp. 520-4. See also Corser IX. 199-208; Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 276-300; Lowndes, 2137-8.

N.B.—All the works are in verse, except two, and one of these contains verse.

RYCHARDES, THOMAS. fl. 1560? Dramatist.

[1560?] **Misogonus.** E. W. viii. 376. Not printed. Fully described by Collier, *Eng. Dram. Poet* II. 368-383. The MS. is dated Nov. 20, 1577, but Collier assigns 1560 as the date of composition.

SACKVILLE, THOS., EARL BUCKHURST. 1530-1608.
Poet and Statesman.

Wood (Bl.) II. 30-44. *Athenae Cantab.* ii. 484-92 gives elaborate references and list of 21 works, including letters in print or MS. Introductions to editions of 1820, 1859; and *Shak. Soc.* 1847, *infra,* pp. lix.-lxviii.

WORKS.—1859. *Lib. of old Authors,* ed. Hon. and Rev. R. W. Sackville West, with Biographical Introd. i.-xxvi. followed by "Appendix" with 11 letters, xxvii.-xlviii. An earlier ed. 1820.

1565.—**Tragedie of Gorboduc** (acted 1561). Bridgewater House. Repr. n.d. [1570] as *The Tragidie of Ferrex and Porrex* (this was the authorised ed.). B. M. and Bodl.—1590, 3rd. ed. *Tragedy of Gorboduc.*—Repr. *Dodsley* 1744. '80, 1825; *Anc. Brit. Drama.,* 1810; Hawkins' *Origin of Eng. Drama,* 1773; in Sackville's Poetical works, 1820; and for *Shak. Soc.* 1847, with "Ralph Roister Doister" (good Introduction; ed. W. D. Cooper). E. W. viii. 224-236.

1563. In the "Mirrour for Magistrates" the tragedy, **The Complaint of Henry Stafford D. of Buckingham,** and the **Induction.** Repr. 1571, '74, '87, 1610, and in Haslewood's reprint, 1815. See *Mirror for Magistrates.* E. W. viii. 237-41.

SANDERS (SANDER AND SAUNDERS), NICHOLAS, D.D.
Divine and Controversialist.

Wood (Bl.) I. 469-73.—E. W. ix. 95-7 gives a list of 7 Works, with full titles and particulars of editions.

SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM. 1564—1616.

Poet and Dramatist.

LIFE, J. O. Halliwell Phillipps, most reliable; "*Life*" 1848; "*Illustrations*" 1874; "*Outlines*" 1881. The earliest life was that of N. Rowe 1743; Nath. Drake 1817; Charles Knight 1843 (reprinted in "*Studies*" 1850), not reliable; S. Neil's "*Critical Biography*" (convenient); T. S. Baynes, *Shak. Studies*, 1894. See also *Encycl. Brit.* Vol XXI. pp. 768-771, where Mr. H. R. Tedder's useful Bibliography, classified under 21 headings, is added to Mr. Baynes' article (this is not reprinted in the "Sh. Studies"). Mr. Wise's "*Sh., his birthplace and its neighbourhood*," is useful.

WORKS.

(*a*). Folios.—1623, First folio; 36 plays, 20 not previously published. (Repr. 1807 folio; 1862-4 3 vols. 4°; photolithographic facsimile 1866 folio; this was reduced by Halliwell to an 8°, 1876). 1632 Second folio. 1664 Third folio. To this edition 7 "doubtful" plays were added, for their names see p. 277; see also "Doubtful" plays *infra*. 1685 Fourth folio. (See "Lowndes," pp. 2253—59) for particulars).

(*b*) Critical editions.—1709, N. Rowe; 7 vols. 1723-5, A. Pope; 7 vols. 1733, L. Theobald; 7 vols. 1743-4, Sir T. Hanmer; 6 vols. 1747, Bp. Warburton; 8 vols. 1765, Dr. S. Johnson; 8 vols. 1767, E. Capell; 10 vols. 1773, Johnson and George Steevens; 10 vols. 1790, E. Malone, the first "Variorum" ed. 10 vols. 1821, Boswell's "Malone"; 21 vols. Some modern editions are—S. W. Singer (1826); C. H. Knight, several editions; Dyce (1857); Halliwell (1853-65); "Cambridge" Shakespeare (1863-6); Grant White's (1857-60, Boston); H. H. Furness, "Variorum" ed. (the most elaborate ever published. Philadelphia, 1873; in progress). The "Leopold" Sh. gives the text of N. Delius (a most useful Introd. by Dr. Furnivall).

DRAMATIC WORKS. (These are given in each group in the conjectural order of production, according to Dowden, *Shakspere: his Mind and Art*, 3rd. ed. 1886, p. x.). F is used to indicate that a work was first printed in the 1623 Folio. Q means Quarto edition. (Details from Halliwell's *Handlist of Early Quartos.*)

N.B.—48 vols. of facsimile quartos were issued by E. W. Ashbee, under Halliwell's superintendence, 1866-71. Dr. Furnivall has edited a new series 1878, etc.

I.—Histories.

1—3. **Henry VI.** (Pt. I. wr. 1590-1; Pt. II. and III., 1591-2). Pr. 1623 F.

4. **Richard III.** (wr. 1593). Q 1597 (no name); 1598, 1602, '5, '12, '22, '29, '34. All with name.
5. **Richard II.** (wr. 1594). Q 1597 (no name); 1598; 1608 (two issues), '15, '34. (All but the first with name).
6. **King John** (wr. 1595). F 1623.
7—8. **Henry IV. Pts. I. and II.** (wr. 1597-8) Pt. I. pr. 1598 (no name); 1599 (name); 1604, '8, '13. '22, '32, '39; all Q. Pt. II. Q 1600 (two impressions; name).
9. **Henry V.** (wr. 1599). Q 1600 (no name); 1602, and '8 (also without name). All imperfect.
10. **Henry VIII.** (wr. 1612-3; Dowden). F 1623.

II.—Tragedies.

1. **Titus Andronicus** (wr. 1588-90). Ent. *Stat. Reg.* Feb. 6, 1593; Langbaine mentions an ed. of 1594 (not known). Q 1600 and 1611. (No name on either.)
2. **Romeo and Juliet** (wr. 1591; revised 1596-7). Q 1597, '99, 1609 [n. d.], 1637. (Name on last two only.)
3. **Julius Caesar** (wr. 1601). F 1623.
4. **Hamlet** (wr. 1602). Q 1603 (imperf. but with name); 1604, 1605 [1607 ?], 1611, 1637. (All with name.)
5. **Othello** (wr. 1604). Q 1622, '30, '55. (All with name.)
6. **Lear** (wr. 1605). Q 1608 (2 ed.), 1655. (All no name.)
7. **Macbeth** (wr. 1606). F 1623.
8. **Antony and Cleopatra** (wr. 1607). F 1623.
9. **Coriolanus** (wr. 1608). F 1623.
10. **Timon of Athens** (wr. 1607-8). F 1623.
11. **Pericles** (wr. 1608). Q 1609, '11, '19, '30, '35. (All with name.)
12. **Cymbeline** (wr. 1609). F 1623.

III.—Comedies.

1. **Love's Labour's Lost** (wr. 1590). Q 1598 (the first play bearing Sh.'s name); 1631 (name also).
2. **Comedy of Errors** (wr. 1591). F 1623.
3. **Two Gentlemen of Verona** (wr. 1592-3). F 1623.
4. **A Midsummer Night's Dream** (wr. 1593-4). Q 1600, 2 ed. pr. (1) by J. Roberts, (2) by Fisher. (Both with name.)
5. **Merchant of Venice** (wr. 1596). Q 1600, 2 ed. (1) pr. by J. Roberts. (2) by T. Heyes, 1637, '52 (all with name).
6. **Taming of the Shrew** (wr. 1597 ?). F 1623. Q 1631.
7. **Merry Wives of Windsor** (wr. 1598 ?). Q 1602 (imperf.), 1619 (both with name); 1630.
8. **Much Ado about Nothing** (wr. 1598). Q 1600 (name).
9. **As You Like It** (wr. 1599). F 1623.
10. **Twelfth Night** (wr. 1600-1). F 1623.
11. **All's Well that Ends Well** (wr. 1601-2 ?). F 1623.
12. **Measure for Measure** (wr. 1603). F 1623.
13. **Troilus and Cressida** (wr. ? 1603; revised ? 1607). Q 1609 (2 ed. with name).
14. **Tempest** (wr. 1610). F 1623.
15. **Winter's Tale** (wr. 1610-11). F 1623.

IV.—Doubtful Plays.

For older collected editions, see *Lowndes*, p. 2302. H. Tyrell [1851] edited 15 plays in a thin folio; Routledge publishes 1—7 (and *T. Andronicus*) in cheap form; *Tauchnitz* ed., Vol. 1041; N. Delius edited 5 plays (Elberfeld, 1854, etc.); A. F. Hopkins has edited, up to 1894, 8 little vols. (pr. privately). Best ed. by K. Warnke and L. Proescholdt. (*Pseudo Shak. Plays.* Halle. 1878-88.)

1—7. See pp. 277-8 for the seven plays printed in 1664 folio.

8. **The Two Noble Kinsmen** (see p. 273-6). Q 1634. Repr. in 1679 folio of Beaumont and Fletcher, and in subsequent editions. Also in the 1664 and '85 folios of Shakespeare; in Knight's ed. 1839-41; Dyce's 1866 (Vol. VIII.); and the "Leopold" Shak., pp. 1012-36. The Introduction to the latter gives on pp. xcvi.-xcix. full references to the literature about the play, which Mr. Littledale reprinted for the *New Shak. Soc.* 1876 (also an able "Introduction" 1882). Prof. Skeat's ed., *Pitt Press Series* 1875, has a faulty Introduction.

9. **Arden of Feversham.** Q. 1592, '9, 1633. See pp. 282-4, and *supra*; also A. H. Bullen's ed., 1887 (good introduction). Rev. C. E. Donne, of Faversham, printed a slight paper of 19 pp. in 1873. J. A. Symonds, *Predecessors of Shak.*, ed. 1884, gives a good summary of the play, pp. 440-60.

10. **Mucedorus.** 1598, 1606, '9, '10, '13, '15, '19, '21, '29, '34, '39, '68—12 quartos in all. Repr. by Collier, and in Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, Vol. VII. (See also *supra*.)

11. **The Merry Devil of Edmonton.** 1608, '12, '17, '26, '31, '55. Not repr. till Dodsley's *Old Plays*, 1744, Vol. XI.; 1780 by Isaac Reed; 1810, *Anc. Brit. Dram.*; 1825, Collier's *Dodsley*: 1874, Hazlitt's ed. Vol. X. (See also *supra*.)

12. **Fair Em.** 1631. There are two other ed., both [n.d.] Repr. in Chetwood's *Old Plays*, 1750, Dublin. (See *supra*.)

13. **The Birth of Merlin.** Not pr. till 1662, and then assigned by Kirkman to Shak. and Rowley. (See also *supra*.)

14. **Edward III.** 1596 and '9 (both in B. M.). Repr. Capell, 1760 (see p. 286); in *Leopold Shak.*, etc.

Some other plays—e.g. *The Arraignment of Paris* (see Peele) and *George a Greene*, etc.—have been at times absurdly assigned to Sh. These are omitted.

COMMENTARIES (see also "Periodical Publications" *infra*).

Prof. E. Dowden, *Sh., his Mind and Art* (one of the best books). G. G. Gervinus, *Commentaries* (translated from German; Introd. by Dr. Furnivall).—H. N. Hudson, *Lectures on Sh.*, 2 vols., 1848, Boston, U.S.A. (deals with 25 plays).—W. Hazlitt, *Characters in Sh.'s plays*, new ed. 1873.—Dr. Furnivall's Introd. to *Leopold Shak.*—S. T. Coleridge's fragmentary *Notes* (T. Ashe, 1883).—Mrs. Jameson's *Characteristics of Women.*—Swinburne's *Study of Sh.*, 1880.—H. Ulrici, *Sh.'s Dramatic Art* (Bohn's Lib., 2 vols.) is occasionally of some value; as a rule, it is vitiated by a total ignorance of the

English character.—F. A. T. Kreyssig's *Vorlesungen über Sh.* (2nd ed. 1874, 2 vols.) and *Sh. Fragen*, 1871, contain perhaps the best German criticisms.

CONCORDANCES AND GRAMMARS.

A. Schmidt's *Sh. Lexicon*, 2 vols., 1874-5.—J. Bartlett's *Complete Concordance*, 1894. (Plays and poems; one vol., 4°.)—Mrs. Cowden Clarke's *Concordance to the Plays*, 1844.—Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke's *Shakespeare Key*, 1879 (a companion vol.).—Mrs. H. H. Furness's *Concordance to Poems*, 1874.—Dyce's *Glossary* (last vol. of his 1857 ed.).—R. Nares' *Glossary*, last ed. 1888, 2 vols.—E. A. Abbott, *Sh. Grammar*.—A. J. Ellis, *Early Eng. Pronunciation*, Pt. III.—W. S. Walker, *Sh. Versification*, 1854.—C. Bathurst, *Changes in Sh.'s Versification*, 1857. (For further information, *see Encycl. Brit.*, Vol. XXI. *ut supra*, under v. and vii.)

SOURCES OF PLAYS (see also *Enc. Brit.*, under viii.).

W. C. Hazlitt's ed. of *Shak. Library*, 1875, 6 vols. (1st ed. Collier, 1843, 2 vols.).—T. P. Courtenay's *Commentaries on the Historical Plays*, 1840, 2 vols.—H. Simrock and others, *Quellen des Shak.*, Berlin, 1831. 3 vols.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS.

The *Shakespeare Society*, 1841-53, printed 48 volumes of very valuable matter. List in Lowndes, pp. 2341-2.—The *New Shakspere Soc.* has pub. 4 vols. of Transactions (which deal *inter alia* largely with metrical tests and the chronology of the plays), and has reprinted a number of helpful books.—The German Shak. Society's *Jahrbuch* (Weimar, from 1865 onward) has many very valuable critical papers.

POEMS.

1. 1593.—**Venus and Adonis.** Bodl. (Malone). 11 ed. by 1675.
2. 1594.—**Lucrece.** B. M. (8 quartos by 1655.)
3. 1599.—**The Passionate Pilgrim.** 3rd ed. 1612, but the intermediate ed. is lost.
4. 1609.—**The Sonnets.** Repr. 1640 in "Poems." Dowden's ed. of the Sonnets, 1881, gives pp. 38-110 an elaborate list, with "notes" as to their contents, of the various works and articles on these poems. Elsewhere (*Sh., his Mind and Art*, pp. 394-5 note) he has classified the theories about the Sonnets. From these the following is adapted :—

I. Writers who treat the Sonnets as dealing with an imaginary friendship—Dyce (*Shakespeare*), N. Delius (*Jahrbuch* I. 18-56), Prof. Morley, Robert Browning.

II. They are partly imaginary and partly autobiographical—C. Knight (*Shakespeare*, Vol. II. of Tragedies, pp. 453-88, 2nd ed.).—H. von Friesen (*Jahrbuch* IV. 1869, pp. 94-120; and 1874, pp. 324-48).—R. Simpson (*The Philosophy of Sh.'s Sonnets*, 1868, pp. 82).

III. They form an allegory—D. Barnstorff (*Schlüssel zu Sh. Sonnetten*, 1860, pp. 179; translation by T. J. Graham, 1862, pp. 215).—J. A. Heraud (in *Sh.'s Inner Life*, 1865,

pp. 484-502, being a repr. from "Temple Bar," 1862.)—Carl Karpf (*Die Idee Shakespeares*, etc., 1869, pp. 166).

IV. They are autobiographical—N. Drake (*Sh. and his Time*, 1817, Vol. II., pp. 50-86).—G. G. Gervinus (*Commentaries*, pp. 441-74; ed. 1875).—F. A. T. Kreyssig (*Vorlesungen über Sh.*, Vol. I., p. 121, of 1874 ed.; *Shak. Fragen*, 1871, pp. 62-7; *Preussische Jahrbücher*, XIII., pp. 484-503; and XIV. 91-114, 1864).—Hermann Isaac (7 articles in the *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 1878-9). —Dr. Furnivall (*Leopold Shak.*, Introd. pp. lxiii.-iv.) gives an elaborate tabular division.—Wordsworth, Sir Hy. Taylor, François Victor Hugo (the poet's son), Ulrici, James Boaden (1837), Chas. Armitage Brown (1838), Hallam (*Hist. of Lit.* III., Chap. V.), Spalding (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1878, Vol. 242, pp. 300-18), W. M. Rossetti F. T. Palgrave have also held this view. (See "Introduction" by Dowden, who holds the same opinion.) The latest development is seen in *Shak.'s Sonnets*, by Thos. Tyler, 1890—an edition containing good notes and bad reasoning.

V. They were largely dramatically written by Sh. in the name of others—Gerald Massey (*Sh.'s Sonnets and his Private Friends*, 1866, pp. 603; 2nd ed. 1872, a laborious work built absolutely on sand or quicksand !).—Hy. Brown (*The Sonnets of Sh. solved*, 1870).

SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. 1554—1586. Courtier and Poet.

LIVES by Fulke Greville, 1652 (see *Greville*).—Dr. T. Zouch, 1808. —Wm. Gray, 1829 (see "Works," *infra*).—*Life and times of Sir P. S.*" Boston, 1859, *anon.*—H. R. Fox Bourne's *Memoir*, 1862, contained new matter drawn from the State papers.—Julius Lloyd, 1862 (contains good critical matter). —Grosart's Introduction to "Poems," 1873, pp. xvii.-lx. —"*Men of Letters*" *Series* (J. A. Symonds). Original sources are: *Sidney Papers*, 1746, 2 vols. by Arthur Collins.—"*Languet's Latin Letters*," Edin. 1776.—*Correspondence of Sir P. Sidney and H. Languet* (S. A. Pears), 1845.—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, Nos. 9-31.—The Roxburghe Club *Sidneana*, 1837, contains many errors. E. W. viii. 394-404; ix. 115-16 and 120-45.

WORKS.—1829. **Miscellaneous Works**, ed. by Wm. Gray, with notes. This was repr. at Boston, U.S.A. 1860.—Earlier ed. 1725, 3 vols. London; and 1739, 3 vols. Dublin.

PROSE.

i. 1590.—**Arcadia.** B. M.—Written 1580-1. This ed. was photographically reproduced 1891 by Kegan Paul (ed. H. Oskar Sommer, with an excellent bibliographical introduction pp. 1-45, giving facsimiles of the title-pages of all the editions). 15 editions up to 1674. Entered on *Stat. Reg.* Aug. 23,

1588; published (764 pp.) 1590, '3, '8, '9; 1605, '13, '21 at Dublin; '23 London; '27, '29, '33, '38, '55, '62, '74.

The 1621 (Dublin) ed. contained the Supplement to Bk. III. by Sir Wm. Alexander; this was repr. at London 1623, and in subsequent ed. The 1627 ed. first contained the Sixth Book, written by R(ichard) B(elings); the 1638 ed. gave also an alternative Bk. III. by Mr. Jas. Johnstoun; 1651 ed. gave a continuation "by a young gentlewoman" (Mrs. A. W. Weames).

ii. 1595.—**An Apologie for Poetrie.** B. M. Wr. [1581-3 ?] Added in 1598 to 3rd ed. of *Arcadia*, and repr. with it. Repr. sep. 1752 Glasgow; 1810 by Lord Thurlow; Arber *Reprints*, 1868; *Pitt Press Series*, 1861, pp. xxxvi. 192. Best ed. 1890, Boston, U.S.A., pp. xlv. 143 (A. S. Cook). See also Poems I. *infra.*

iii. 1746.—*Memorial to Queen Elizabeth against the French match*, 1580, printed in "Sidney Papers."

POEMS. Edited by Grosart. *Full. Worth. Lib.* 2 vols. 1873; and in *Early Eng. Poets*, 1877, 3 vols.; both with Introductions. See also "Works."

1. 1591.—(3 editions.) **Astrophel and Stella.** E. W. ix. 139-41. Repr. Arber's *Eng. Garner* I.; by Grosart; and published separately (with No. 2, *infra*) by David Stott, 1888. The ed. by Dr. Ewald Flügel (Halle, 1889) has a good critical preface, pp. cii.; this ed. also reprints the "Apologie."

2. 1598.—In the ed. of "Arcadia," **Certaine Sonets,** *written by Sir P. Sidney, never before printed.*

3. 1823.—**The Psalmes of David, translated into divers and sundry kindes of verse** . . . *begun by* . . . *Sir P. S. and finished by* . . . *the Countess of Pembroke.* These were then first printed from a MS. transcribed by John Davies of Hereford. The 150 Psalms fill 285 pp., and the vol. contains portraits of Sidney and his sister. Grosart assigns 43 of the Psalms to Sidney. Several MSS. exist. Ruskin, in Vol. II. of *Bibliotheca Pastorum*, gives under the title *Rock Honeycomb*, etc. 44 Psalms (up to Ps. 72) with critical comments; the promised completion has not appeared.

4. The "Arcadia" contains 79 poems.

N.B.—Grosart's edition contains No. 1, *supra* (11 Sonnets and 11 Songs); 13 other Sonnets; 28 Poems from other sources not collected by Sidney; the 79 "Arcadia" poems, and 43 Psalms.

MASQUE.

1613 ed. of "Arcadia" contained at the end, pp. 570-6, a masque (E. W. viii. 403-4) headed "*Her most excellent Maiestie walking in Wansted Garden*, etc. (1578). This was in later editions, called **The Lady of May.** It is chiefly prose (some verse).

LOST WORKS.

Together with the "Arcadia" there was licensed Aug. 23, 1588, a *Trans. from Du Bartas.* (See Golding, page 390).

SMITH, CAPTAIN JOHN. 1579—1631. Traveller and Colonist.

WORKS.—Collected by Prof. Arber, *Eng. Schol. Lib.* 1884.

Besides those of which the full titles are given E. W. xi. 184-9, Arber *Reprints*:—**New Englands Trials**, 1620 (12 pp.); ditto 1622 (20 pp.); **The General Historie of Virginia** (in six books), 1624; **An Accidence for Young Seamen**, 1626; **The True Travels** (in two parts), 1630; **Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New England**, etc. 1631. To these is added the Last Will, and the Epitaph of John Smith.

SMITH, SIR THOMAS. 1512—1577. Scholar, Secretary of State to Ed. VI. and Elizabeth.

LIFE by J. Strype, 1698; reprinted *Clar. Press* 1820, pp. 180, with Appendices to p. 286. Both ed. have portrait.

SMITH, WILLIAM. fl. 1596. Poet.

1596.—**Chloris**, *or the Complaint of the passionate despised Shepheard.* Bodl. 50 sonnets inscribed to "Colin Clout." E. W. x. 480. Repr. Arber, *Eng. Garner* VIII.

SOUTHWELL, ROBERT. 1562—1595. Poet and Jesuit.

The Introduction to Grosart's edition of the Poems, *Full. Worth. Lib.* 1872, pp. c. 222, quite supersedes the earlier introductions of W. J. Walter and W. B. Turnbull. E. W. xi. 78-81.

POEMS.

1817.—ed. W. J. Walter. 1856, "now first completely edited," Wm. B. Turnbull; this ed. was exactly repr. 1886 (now out of print). Grosart's edition supersedes these.

1. 1595.—**Saint Peters Complaint**, *with* (20) *other Poemes.* B. M. Three ed. in 1595; 8 ed. up to 1615.
2. 1595.—**Mæonias**, *or certaine excellent Poems and Spirituall Hymnes.* Repr. [1596] and '7.
3. 1872.—Grosart first printed, pp. 191-215, some Latin poems from MS. at Stonyhurst College.

B. PROSE.

i. [1593?].—**An Epistle of Comfort to the reverend Priests . . . in durance for the Catholike Faith.** B. M. 214 leaves. Grosart assigns [1593?] to this undated issue; B. M. Catalogue gives [1604?] Repr. with date 1605. B. M.

ii. 1594.—**Mary Magdalens Funerall Teares.** Bodl. Repr. 1602

'7, '9, etc. In 1772 with some alterations ; in 1823 as Vol. IV. of *Antiquarian Classics;* and in 1827.

iii. 1595.—**An humble supplication to her Maiestie.** B. M. The colophon is dated Dec. 14, 1595 ; the 86 pp. 16° bear no name and no place, and the work can only be "attributed to" Southwell. Dodd, "*Church History*," mentions a 1593 ed. Grosart says he has failed to discover any copy of the book !

iv. 1595.—**The Triumphs over Death,** *or a Consolatorie Epistle for Afflicted minds.* Repr. 1596. B. M. This ed. was repr. in *Archaica*, Vol. I. 1815 (S. E. Brydges).

v. [n.d.]—**A Short Rule of Good Life.** Bodl. Repr. 1616. B. M.

vi. 1873.—**A Hundred Meditations on the Love of God,** pp. 538 ; ed. by John Morris from unique copy at Stonyhurst College.

N.B.—The Stonyhurst MSS. contain other unprinted prose works : *Precationes*, *Meditationes*, and *Notes on Theology.* His two Latin epistles in the work of Didacus Yepes, Bishop of Tarragona, *De Persecutione Angliae*, were trans. by Bhp. Challoner, 1741, and were reprinted by Dr. Oliver (*Collections toward illustrating the biography of the Soc. of Jesus*, 1845), and by Grosart.

Attributed to Southwell—

1. **A Foure-fold Meditation of the Foure last things,** etc., "*a diuine Poeme by R. S., the author of S. Peters complaint*" (*sic* on title-page). B. M.
2. **The Passion of a Discontented Mind.** *Anon.* Repr. Collier's *Illust. of Old Eng. Lit.* I. 1866. See *Breton.*
3. **St. Peters Ten Teares.** 1597.—*Anon.* B. M. Cat. states [by R. S.?].

SPENSER, EDMUND. 1552—1599. Poet.

GROSART'S elaborate edition, 10 vols. 1882-4 (100 copies), contains the editor's "Life" with various appendices ; Essays by Aubrey de Vere, Prof. Dowden, Revs. W. B. Philpot and Wm. Hubbard, E. W. Gosse (on Eng. Pastoral Poetry), and F. T. Palgrave (on the Minor Poems). Older editions are 1805, 8 vols. (ed. H. J. Todd, whose "Life" brought together the facts then known)—1862, 5 vols. (ed. J. P. Collier) ;—1869, the "Globe" edition, with Prof. J. W. Hales' able Introduction. Prof. F. J. Childs' American edition, 5 vols. Boston, 1855, is valuable. In 1754 T. Warton published his *Observations on the F. Queene ;* 1845, H. L. Craik, *Spenser and his Poetry*, 3 vols.—"Spenser" in the *Men of Letters Series*, 1879, by Dean R. W. Church (excellent).

A. POEMS.

1. 1569.—In John Van der Noodt's *Theatre for Wordlings* were 6 "**Epigrams**" (the **Visions of Petrarch** of the 1591 ed.,

No. 4 *infra*), and 15 "**Sonnets**" (**The Visions of Bellay** of 1591). See E. W. ix. 10-16.

2 1579.—**The Shepheardes Calendar** (4 copies known. B. M., Bodl., Huth, and Capell Collection, Camb.). Repr. 1581, '86, '91, and '97 (the last during Sp.'s life). The first. ed. has been photographically facsimiled (ed. H. Oskar Sommer 1890, 4°, pp. 25, and ff. 52); this has a good Introduction. Dr. Uhlemann, Hannover 1888, in *Der Verfässer des Kommentars zu Spenser's "Shepheardes Calender,"* ably maintains that "E. K." is Spenser himself; see also Sommer's Introd. 15-25. Grosart (Appendices) also discusses the E. K. question.

3. **The Faerie Queene.**

(*a*) 1590.—The first three Books. E. W. ix. 317-62.

(*b*) 1596.—Bks. IV. to VI. E. W. ix. 383-414.

(*c*) 1609.—The first folio edition of the poem printed a fragment, presumably of Bk. VII., **Two Cantos of Mutabilitie.**

4. 1591.—**The Complaints.** For the nine divisions of this vol. (each of which had a sep. title-page, that of *Muiopotmos* being dated 1590) see E. W. ix. 362-9. Repr. 1595.

5. 1591.—**Daphnaida,** *an Elegie,* etc. 11 leaves. E. W. ix. 369-70. Repr. 1596.

6. 1595.—**Colin Clouts Come Home again.** B. M. Dedication signed Dec. 27, 1591. This vol. also contained the **Amoretti** (88 Sonnets) and **Epithalamium.** No other ed. was pub. by Spenser. E. W. ix. 370-1.

7. 1596.—**The four Hymns, Prothalamium, and Astrophel** The last being a pastoral elegy of 36 6-line verses, serving as a kind of "Introduction" to a group of 6 poems on Sidney's death by other hands. E. W. ix. 437-44.

N.B.—Mention is made of various other poems, either lost or embodied in known works.

(*a*) 1579.—E. K.'s prefatory Letter to the Shepheardes Calendar mentions "*Dreames, Legendes,* the *Court of Cupide,* and sondry others."

(*b*) 1580.—In the Correspondence with G. Harvey (q.v.), partly given in the *Globe* ed. of Spenser, pp. 706-10; *Slomber* (p. 706); the *Dying Pelican, Stemmata Dudleiana, Epithalamium Thamesis,* as well as the "Dreames" again (p. 709); Harvey's reply speaks of *9 Comedies* (p. 710).

(*c*) 1591.—The printer's prefatory letter to "Complaints" mentions: *Ecclesiastes and Canticum Canticorum translated; A senights slumber* (probably identical with "Slomber" given under (*b*); *The hell of lovers, his Purgatorie; The Howers of the Lord, The Sacrifice of a Sinner, The seven Psalmes,* etc., as well as the Dying Pellican again (*Globe* ed. p. 488).

(*d*) *The English Poet.*

N.B.—Grosart's edition I. pp. 77-99 deals with these "lost" works. He considers 8 as really lost, and suggests

that the remainder may be embodied in extant works, which he specifies. Professor Hales, *Globe* ed. Introduction, also makes some suggestions, p. xxvii.

Prose.

1633.—**A View of the Present State of Ireland** (registered Apr. 1598).

STANYHURST, RICHARD. 1547—1618. Translator, Divine, Historian.

Wood (Bl.) II. 252-8. Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poet.*, ed. 1871, IV. 284-7. *Cens. Liter.* IV. 225-40, 354-64 (by T. Park), and 385-9 (by W. S.). This gives a very full account of the poems. Arber's reprint of the Virgil has an excellent Introduction, pp. vii.-xxiv.

Poems.

1582.—Leyden.—**Thee first fovre Bookes of Virgil, his Aeneis,** *translated intoo English heroical verse by Richard Stanyhurst, wyth oother Poëtical diuises theretoo annexed.* Two copies known, at Ashburnham Place and at Britwell, Bucks. This ed. has been repr. by Arber, *Eng. Schol. Lib.*, No. 10, 1880. 2nd ed., Jan. 1583, London, was repr. 1836 at Edin. by J(ames) M(aidment); 50 copies. The "annexed" poems are 4 Psalms, poetical "conceits," and certain Epitaphs. H. Schmidt (Breslau, 1887) has written 44 pp. on *Rich. Stanyhurst's Übersetzung von Vergils Aeneide I.-IV.*

Prose.

(*a*) English.

1577.—In Holinshed's "Chronicle" (see *Holinshed*) the **Description of Ireland** and the **History of Ireland** from 1509-1547, being a continuation of the translation from Edmund Campion's work. In 1584, at Antwerp, *De Rebus in Hibernia gestis, Lib. IV.*, appeared.

(*b*) Latin.

i. 1570.—**Harmonia sive Catena Dialectica in Porphyrianas Constitutiones** (a commentary on Porphyry). Repr. 1579.

ii. 1587.—**De Vita S. Patricii Hiberniae Apostoli. Lib. II.** B. M.

iii. 1609.—**Hebdomada Mariana,** etc. B. M. pp. 208.

iv. 1614.—**Hebdomada eucharistica.**

v. 1615.—**Brevis praemunitio . . . cum Iacobo Vsserio,** etc. A brief letter (about 3 sheets) to his nephew (afterwards Archbishop) Ussher, on his work, *De Ecclesiarum Successione,* 1613.

N. B.—Wood, *Athenae Oxon.*, mentions **The Principles of Catholic Religion,** which, however, he had not seen.

STILL, JOHN. *circa* 1543—1608. Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Athen. Cantab. II. 467-9 (elaborate references). E. W. viii. 382-4.

1575.—**Gammer Gurtons Needle.** Full title E. W. viii. 382. Acted at Cambridge 1566. Repr. 1661; in Hawkins' *Origin*

of the Eng. Dram.; and in the various ed. of *Dodsley*, including that of Hazlitt 1874, III.

N.B.—Two other works besides his letters (in Latin and English) are known—one is in MS. at the State Paper Office; the other is in Strype's "Whitgift," p. 510.

STUBBES, PHILIP. Miscellaneous Writer. fl. 1580-93.

Wood (Bl.) I. 645. Dr. Furnivall's Introduction to the *New Shak. Soc.* reprint of No. 3 *infra* gives the best (not quite accurate) account of Stubbes and his works, together with many details of the social life of his days. Accounts of the "Anatomy" are in *Cens. Lit.* I. 526; Collier, *Poet. Decam.* II 235-7, and *Bibl. Cat.* II.; *Retrospective Review* III. 126-41; and in *Shak. Soc. Papers* IV.

1. 1581.—**A fearefull and terrible Example of Gods iuste Judgement executed vpon a lewde Fellow.** A broadside of 102 lines of 14-syllable verse. Reprinted in Collier's *Broadside Black Letter Ballads.* 1868, pp. 42-7.
2. 1581.—**Two wunderfull and rare Examples Of . . . iudgement,** *one vpon a wicked blasphemer . . . the other vpon Ioane Bowser . . . to whome the Deuill appeared* (Lambeth Lib. 10 leaves). A reprint of No. 1, together with another broadside of 114 long lines; the whole repr. by J. Purcell Rearden in *Shak. Soc. Papers* IV. 73-88.
3. (*a*) 1583.—**The Anatomie of Abuses,** printed May 1, 1583 (Bodl. 3 copies). 2nd ed. Aug. 16 (B. M., Bodl., and Bridgewater House). Repr. 1584, '85, '95. The first ed. has been repr. by Collier [n.d.; 1870?]; and by *New Shak. Soc.* 1877, ed. Dr. Furnivall, with Introduction and portions of other works. The 1585 ed. was repr. 1836, Edin., 100 copies; edited by W. B. Turnbull.

   (*b*) [1583].—**The Second Part of the Anatomie of Abuses.** B. M., Bodl., etc. Entered *Stat. Reg.* Nov. 7, 1583. It is a little vol. 5½ in. × 3½ in. Dr. Furnivall reprinted this 1882, uniform with (*a*); pp. 116, and "Foretalk."
4. [1584].—**The Intended Treason of Doctor Parrie.** A tract of 4 leaves. Repr. *Shak. Soc. Papers* III. 17-21. (B. M.)
5. 1591.—**A Christal Glasse for Christian women.** (B. M. W. C. Hazlitt's copy.) Repr. 1592 (Huth Lib.); and as late as 1658. Dr. Furnivall reprints portions of this life of "Mistris Katherine Stubs" (wife of J. S.).
6. 1592.—**A perfect pathway to Felicitie.** A little book 3¾ in. × 2¾ in. (Dr. F.'s unique copy in B. M.) Extracts in Furnivall's ed. of No. 3 *supra*, pp. 209-230. The 1610 edition (Huth Lib.) has 15 more prayers than that of 1592.
7. 1593.—**A motive to good Workes.** 114 leaves. Described by Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 400-2, and said to have been stolen from him. It is now in the B. M.

LOST WORKS.

1. 1582.—**A View of Vanitie,** etc., in English verse.

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1. 1582.—**A View of Vanitie**, etc., in English verse.
2. 1583.—**The Rosarie of Christian Praiers and Meditations**, &c. Entered *Stat. Registers* Aug. 3. 1583.
3. 1584.—**The Theatre of the Popes Monarchie.**

STUDLEY, JOHN. fl. 1566—81. Translator.

Athen. Cantab. II. 100-1.

1. TRANSLATIONS FROM SENECA. (All in B. M.)
   (*a*) 1566.—*The Seventh Tragedie of Seneca entituled* **Medea.**
   (*b*) 1566.—*The Eyght Tragedie . . . entituled* **Agamemnon.**
   (*c*) 1581.—**Hippolitus.** Licensed 1579, but printed in Newton's "Tenne Tragedies." See *Th. Newton.*
   (*d*) 1581.—**Hercules Furens.** Pr. in the "Tenne Tragedies."
2. 1574.—**The Pageant of Popes . . .** *written in Latin by Maister Bale, and now Englished with sondrye additions by J. S.* (See *Bale.*)
3. Latin-verses on the death of Nicholas Carr, printed 1571; and to Sir Wm. Cecil, still in MS. (State Paper Office).

SURREY, EARL OF (HENRY HOWARD). 1517?—1547. Courtier and Poet.

The latest and best LIFE is that of Edmond Bapst, 1891, Paris, *Deux Gentilshommes Poètes de la Cour de Henry VIII.*—Geo. Boleyn; and Surrey (pp. 145-376). This, being based on documentary research, quite supersedes Nott's "Life" in the 1815 ed. of the poems. Wood (Bl.) I. 154-61; *Athenae Cantab.* I. 90-1, and 537; Park's ed. of Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors* I. 255, are more meagre sources.

POEMS.

For editions of "Tottel" up to 1728, see *Tottel's Miscellany.* In 1717 Dr. T. Sewell edited Surrey's poems with those of Wyatt (a poor edition)—1815, Nott's edition contained some new poems, with good notes and a Life—1831, Sir H. Nicholas' edition—1854, Bell's—1866, the *Aldine* edition, by J. Yeowell (the best).

1. 1557.—June 5, **Songes and Sonnettes**, etc. See *Tottel's Miscellany.*
2. 1557.—**Certain Bokes** (*i.e.* II. and IV.) **of Virgiles Aeneis turned into English meter** (a little vol. of 26 leaves; colophon dated June 21). **The fourth boke of Virgill . . . drawn into a strange meter**, was printed separately by John Day [n.d.]. Both books repr. *Roxburghe Club*, 1814.
3. 1804.—A **Paraphrase on the Book of Ecclesiastes**, and a metrical rendering of a few psalms, were first printed by

T. Park in his ed. of *Nugae Antiquae* (see *J. Harington*) from MS. formerly belonging to Sir J. H. They are reprinted in later editions of Surrey's Poems.

LOST WORKS (mentioned by Bishop Bale)—

1. *A Trans. of Boccaccio's Epistle to Pinus on his exile.*
2. *A book of Elegant epistles.*

N.B.—Skeat's ed. of Guest's *Hist. of Eng. Rhythms*, pp. 521, etc., 652, etc.; J. B. Mayor's *Chapters on Eng. Metres*, 135-45; *Englische Metrik*, Vol. II. Pt. I. 256-70 (Dr. J. Schipper, Bonn, 1888), contain information as to Surrey's Metric. (S. L. Lee, in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*)

TOFTE, ROBERT. d. Jan. 1619—20. Poet and Translator.

POETRY.

1. 1597.—**Laura, The Toyes of a Traueller**; *or, The Feast of Fancie*, "by R. T." B. M.—In 3 parts; 40 sonnets, together with a verse conclusion to each. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 435-7.
2. 1598.—**Alba, The Months Minde of a Melancholy Louer**, "by R. T." (see Collier II. 437-8). In 1865 J. O. Halliwell printed "Some account of T.'s Alba; Grosart, *Occas. Issues*, 1880, reprinted the whole poem with Introduction (pp. lxix. 116); "Certain Divine Poems" being at the end of the volume. The Introd. gives on pp. xii. and xiii. a list of T.'s works, followed by an account of them.

TRANSLATIONS FROM ITALIAN.

1. 1598.—**Orlando inamorato.** The first three Bookes of Boiardo in Eng. heroical verse. B. M.
2. 1599.—**Of Mariage and Wiuing,** "an Excellent Controversy" between Hercules and Torquato Tasso. B. M.
3. 1608.—**Ariosto's Satyres in seven famous Discourses,** "by Gervas Markham." B. M. Reprinted 1611, with 3 added Elegies, as *Seven Planets gouerning Italy.* Claimed by Tofte as his in the "Epistle" to No. 5 *infra.*
4. 1610.—**Honovrs Academie.** *On the famovs Pastorall of the Faire Shepheardesse Ivlietta*, done into English. A folio of 123 leaves, with verse interspersed. B. M.
5. 1615.—**The Blazon of Iealovsie.** A trans. from Benedetto Varchi. B. M.

"TOTTEL'S MISCELLANY."

1557. June 5. **Songes and Sonnettes, written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Haward, late Earle of Surrey, and other.** 2nd edition July 31, 1557. Repr. '59, '65, '67, '74, '85, '87. Modern reprints: 1717 and 1728; in *Seven English Miscell.* 1867 (ed. Collier); and in Arber's *Reprints*, 1870 (with full bibliography).

N.B.—The first ed. contained 271 poems:—40 by Surrey

(36 at beginning, 4 near the end), 96 by Wyatt, 40 by Grimald, 95 by uncertain authors (including, it is known, Th. Churchyard, Lord Vaux, Ed. Somerset, John Heywood, and Sir Fr. Bryan). The 2nd ed. contained 39 additional poems, but 30 of Grima'd's were withdrawn, so that there were but 280. The total number of poems in both ed. was thus 310.

TURBERVILLE, GEORGE. 1530—died *post* 1594. Poet and Translator.

Wood (Bl.) I. 627-30. Corser X. 308-12. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 70-3, and 446-53.

ORIGINAL VERSE.

1. *Ante* 1567.—**Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs, and Sonets.** Date of first ed. unknown; a fragment only remains. 2nd ed. 1567, Bodl. imperf., unique (described by Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 446-50, and repr. by him [1870?]; 164 pieces in table of contents). Repr. 1570 B. M.; 1597. Given in Chalmers' *Poets* II., and repr. 1837 with the "Tragical Tales" *infra*.
2. **Certaine letters in verse written by Master Geo. Turberville out of Muscovia 1568.** These were printed at the end of the 1587 ed. of "Tragical Tales," and in Hakluyt's *Collections* (1598 I. 384-5, and the 1809 reprint). The three letters occupy pp. 370-91 of the 1837 reprint of the "Tragical Tales." See E. W. ix. 31.

TRANSLATIONS IN VERSE.

1. 1567.—**The Eglogs of the Poet B. Mantuan Carmelitan.** *Turned into Eng. Verse.* B. M. Repr. 1572 and '94. See Corser X. 302-10. E. W. ix. 32-5.
2. 1567-8, March 19.—**The Heroycall Epistles of . . . P. Ovidius Naso.** B. M. Repr. '69 ['70?], 1600 ['05?]. 6 Tales out of the 24 are in Blank Verse. See Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 70-3.
3. 1568.—**A plaine Path to perfect Vertue**; *devised and found out by* (Dominicus) *Mancinus a Latine poet, and translated into English by G. T.*
4. 1576.—**Tragical Tales** (10), *trans. by Turberville in time of his Troubles out of sundrie Italians* (chiefly Boccaccio). Repr. 1587; this ed. repr. 1837, with the "Epitaphs," *supra*.

PROSE.

i 1575.—**The Booke of Faulconrie or Hawking.** *Collected out of the best Aucthors as well Italian as Frenchmen* (B. M.).

ii 1575.—**The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting** (B. M.) is usually bound up with the preceding. Repr. together 1611 (Huth Lib. and B.M.). See *Gascoigne*.

N.B.—Wood (*Athenae*), p. 628, mentions **Essays Politic and Moral**, pr. 1608. In Rawlinson MS., Poet I. and IV., there are two copies of a trans. of Tasso's *Godfrey*, by "Sir G. T." Rawlinson and Wood identify this with Turberville, in spite of the "Sir."

TUSSER, THOMAS. *circa* 1525—1580. Versifier.

Athen. Cantab. I. 422-4. Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poet.*, Section LIII., (pp. 220-9, ed. 1871). Eng. Dialect Soc.'s reprint *infra* has an excellent Introduction pp. xi.-xxvii., and gives the latest information.

1. (*a*) 1557.—**A hundreth good pointes of Husbandrie.** B. M., unique. Repr. 1810 as Vol. III. of Brydges' *Brit. Bibl.*; privately in 1834 by Ch. Clark; and in 1878 by *Eng. Dialect Soc.* (ed. J. Payne and S. J. Herrtage), together with "*b*." Other ed. 1561, '2, '4, and '70 (this differs from the others; see *Bibl. Anglo-Poet*, p. 743).

   (*b*) 1573.—**Five hundreth pointes of good Husbandry.** B. M. 15 editions up to 1672 (most of them in B. M.). 1580 was the first complete ed., and the last in T.'s lifetime. It was repr. in 1812 by Wm. Mavor, LL.D., with notes, life, and bibliographical information, pp. 338; and in 1878 by *Eng. Dialect Soc.*, together with "*a*," the 1580 ed. being collated with those of 1573 and '77. This edition has good notes.

2. **The Book of Huswifery** was appended to the early editions of the above; possibly in 1562, certainly in and after 1570. It is repr. by Mavor, p. 235, etc.; and by *Eng. Dialect Soc.* p. 162, etc. It gives a genuine picture of Elizabethan farm life.

N.B.—Tusser's *Last Will and Testament* was printed privately from B. M. copy in 1846 by C. Clark (4 pp.), who added the metrical biography (40 8-line stanzas) which had appeared in the 1573 and subsequent editions, and was reprinted by Mavor. The *Eng. Dialect Soc.* repr. both these.

TWYNE, THOMAS. fl. 1570—90. Translator.
Wood (Bl.) II. 130-2. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 453-5.

1573.—**The whole XII. Bookes of the Æneidos of Virgill,** *by Thomas Phaer and Thomas Twine.* B. M. (See *Phaer.*) In 1584 the "XIII. Bookes" appeared (Repr. '96, 1600, '7, and '20), the supplementary book by Maphaeus Vegius being added, as had been done by Gawain Douglas, whose *XIII. Bukes of Eneades . . . Translated . . . into Scottish Metir*, had appeared in 1553. (All in B. M.)

N.B.—Wood (Bl.), p. 130, gives a list of 8 other translations from Danæus, Droet, Petrarch, etc. **The Schoolemaster; or, Teacher of Table Phylosophie,** 1576 (repr. 1583 B. M.), is an interesting and amusing work described by Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II., and in *Cens. Liter.* V. 126. It is a free rendering of the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius. **The Garland of Godlie Flowers,** 1574 (repr. 1580 and 1602), commonly called *Twine's Prayers*, is a little vol. of 3¼ in. × 2¼ in., containing 17 "flowers" or divisions, each having 17 short prayers, followed by a *Complaint to Almightie God.* (All 3 ed. in B. M.) T. also wrote

A shorte and pithie Discourse concerning Earthquakes (particularly that of Ap. 6, 1580. See E. W. ix. 59-61).

UDALL, NICHOLAS. 1505-6—1556. Schoolmaster, Dramatist, and Translator.

(The name also appears as Uvedall, Owdall, Dowdall, Woodall, and Woodell.)

Best account in W. D. Cooper's reprint of "Roister Doister," 1847 (pp. xi.-xxxiv.). Arber's *Reprint*. Wood (Bl.) I. 211-4. E. W. viii. 98-101 and 153-7.

DRAMA.

1. [1566].—**Ralph Roister Doister** (wr. by 1551, see *Thos. Wilson*). Title-page of unique copy in Eton Coll. Lib. wanting; date inferred from *Stat. Registers*. Play discovered 1818, and repr. (30 copies) Rev. T. Briggs; also 1821, both times pr. as anonymous. Collier noticed T. Wilson's reference, which settles the authorship. 1830, *Old Eng. Drama*, Vol. I. 1847, Cooper's reprint for *Shak. Soc.* 1869, Arber *Reprints*.
2. **A pageant** in Latin and Eng., wr. 1532 with John Leland, to welcome Anne Bulleyn to the City after her marriage. MS. in Royal MSS. 18, A. lxiv. (B. M.). See Collier, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Poet.* II. p. 353 *n.* ed. 1879. Fairholt, *Percy Soc.* in the "Civic Garland," gives 2 songs.
3. For **Ezekias**, acted Cambridge Aug. 1564, and other lost plays, see E. W. viii. 98 and 101.

OTHER WORKS.

1. 1533.—**Flovres for Latine Spekynge . . . gathered oute of Terence** (the 1st three comedies); pp. 110; 1538 ed. pp. 192. Several times repr. (B. M. has 1560 ed.) In 1575 J. Higgins made "additions" to this. (See *Higgins*.)
2. 1542.—**Apophthegmes . . . of Erasmus.** (Books III. and IV.) B. M.
3. 1548.—**The first tome . . . of the paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the new Testament.** B. M. Udall only trans. "Luke." Princess Mary did part of "John"; the other portions (up to "Acts") were by others. The second tome, 1549, completed the work, but Udall took no part in this. Both pts. repr. 1551. E. W. viii. 153.
4. 1551.—**A discourse or tretise of P. M. Vermil . . . concernynge the Sacrament of the Lords Supper.** B. M. has 1558 ed. A trans. from Peter Martyr.
5. 1552.—**Totius anatomie delineatio.** B. M. The "Anatomy" of Geminie edited, with preface.
6. [1552?]—**Epistolae et Carmina,** *ad Gul. Hermanum et ad John Leland.*

   N.B.—Cotton MS. Titus, B. viii. p. 371, gives Udall's undated and unaddressed letter (pr. in full by Cooper) concerning his reinstalment at Eton. Royal MS. 18, B. 11

(B. M.) contains **An Answer to the Articles of the Commoners of Devonshire**, etc. (full title E. W. viii. 157).

THOMAS, LORD VAUX. 1511—62. Poet.

Fuller's Worthies Lib. Miscell. 1872, ed. Grosart, contains (with an Introduction) the poems, now "first collected," of Lord Vaux; Ed. de Vere, Earl of Oxford; Robt. E. of Essex; and Walter E. of Essex.

Lord Vaux's poems extend from pp. 15-45, and are 15 in number, 13 being from the *Paradise of Dainty Devices*, and 2 from "*Songs and Sonnets*," 1585. (See *Miscellanies.*) Hannah, *Courtly Poets*, pp. 129-134, gives 4 poems, one of which is really by W. Hunnis.

DE VERE, EDWARD, E. OF OXFORD. *circa* 1545—1604. Poet and Courtier.

Athen. Cantab. II. 389-92 (elaborate references at end). Park's ed. of Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, II. 115.

POEMS, collected by Grosart, see *Vaux.* Grosart mentions 23, but gives only 22 (pp. 46-81), omitting "No. viii.," *Wonders Love hath wrought*, given as "No. 7" in table of contents. These are collected from *Paradise of D. Devices* (7); Rawl. MS. Poet. 85 (6); Tanner MS. 306 (1); *England's Parnassus* (2); *Eng. Helicon* (1); *Astrophel and Stella* (2); and one or two other sources. Hannah, *Courtly Poets* printed 5 poems (repr. by Grosart), pp. 142-7.

N.B.—De Vere prefixed a Latin letter to Barthol. Clerke's trans. of Count B. Castiglione's *de Curiali sive Aulico.*

LOST.

Comedies and Interludes, mentioned by Cooper *Athen. Cantab.*

WARNER, WILLIAM. 1558—1609. Poet and Lawyer.

Wood (Bl.) I. 765-73. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 483. Corser XI. 343-59.

POETRY.

1. **Albions England.** Pt. I. 65 leaves, pub. 1586 (Britwell). Pts. I. and II., the former "revised and corrected," and the latter "newly continued and added," 1589 (B. M. Lib.). "The Third time corrected," 1592 (B. M. 2 copies); 1596 and 1597 (176 leaves) B. M.; 1602 (252 l.) B. M., the first complete ed. in 13 Bks.; 1606 there appeared a "Continvance" often found attached to the last; 1612 B. M. Repr. Chalmers' *Poets* IV. 499-658.
2. 1595.—*Trans. of* "*Menæchmi*" *of Plautus.* The other plays trans. by him not printed.

PROSE.

[1584] B. M. Cat.—**Pan his Syrinx. Or Pipe, compact of seuen Reedes.** A very incorrect ed.

1597.—**Syrinx,** *or, A seauenfold Historie, handled with varietie of pleasant and profitable both commicall and tragicall Argument.* B. M. and Huth Lib.

WATSON, THOMAS. 1557—1592. Poet and Scholar.

Wood (Bl.) I. 601-3. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 489-95. Corser XI. 370-7. Full titles Hazlitt's *Handbook* 644-5. Arber's *Reprint*, 1870, pp. 3-17, gives the best and fullest information.

ENGLISH VERSE.

1. 1582.—**The** *Ἑκατομπαθία or a Passionate Centurie of Loue.* 56 leaves. B. M., Bodl., &c. Repr. *Spenser Soc.* 1869, and Arber *Reprints* (with 3, 4 and "Melibœus").
2. 1586.—**A Song in Commendation of the Author of the Praise of Musicke.** (Dr. Case.) A broadside.
3. 1590.—**An Eclogve Vpon the death of . . . Sir Fr. Walsingham.** B. M. (See *infra.*)
4. 1593.—**The Teares of Fancie,** *Or, Loue Disdained.* 60 sonnets.
5. 1590.—**The first sett, Of Italian Madrigalls Englished.** Collier *Bibl. Cat.* II. 493-5. B. M. (*Music Cat.*)
6. Scattered verses in Ocland's *Prælia*, 1582; Whetstone's *Heptameron*, 1582; 3 poems in *Phœnix Nest*, 1593; 5 in *Eng. Helicon*, 1600; and Davison's *Poet. Rhapsody*, 1602.

LATIN.

1. 1581.—Latin translation of the *Antigone* of Sophocles. B. M.
2. 1585.—**Amyntas** (a Lat. poem). 27 l. B. M. See *A. Fraunce.*
3. 1586.—Latin trans. of Coluthus' *De raptu Helenæ.*
4. 1590.—**Melibœus** (full title E. W. ix. 163-4). B. M. 12 l. An elegy on Walsingham; a translation by himself was also issued. See *supra* No. 3.
5. 1592.—**Amintæ Gavdia.** B. M. and Bodl. Hexameters. The dedication signed C. M. (? Ch. Marlowe) speaks of Watson as dead.
6. [n.d]—**Compendium Memoriae Localis.**

WEBBE, WM. fl. 1568—86. Critic.

Athen. Cantab. II. 12. Arber's "Notes" before his *Reprint.* Warton *Hist. Eng. Poet.* passim.

PROSE.

1586.—**A Discourse of English Poetrie.** 2 copies known; Bodl. (Malone) and Marquis of Blandford. Repr. 1815, *Ancient Critical Essays* II., pp. 13-95; and by Arber, *Reprints*, 1870. In 1588 Ed. Hake compiled chiefly from this, with additions, his *Touchstone of Wittes* (Warton *Hist. Eng. Poet.* p. 804, 1870 ed.).

N.B.—In 1591 Webbe prefixed a letter to Willmot's revision of "Tancred and Gismund." See *Wilmot*. Arber, pp. 4-5, reprints this with the "Discourse."

VERSE.

In the "Discourse" *Vergil Eclogues I. and II.* are put into Eng. Hexameter (Arber *Reprint*, pp. 73-79); and the 4th eclogue of Spenser's *Shep. Calendar* into sapphics (pp. 82-4).

WEEVER, JOHN. Poet and Antiquarian.

VERSE.

1. 1599.—**Epigrammes in the oldest cut and newest fashion** 54 l. Only three copies known. Divided into "weeks," each ded. to a separate patron. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 495-7.
2. 1601.—**The Mirror of Martyrs, or The life and death of . . . Sir Iohn Old-castle.** B. M., Bodl., Huth Lib. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 497-8. Repr. *Roxburghe Club* 1873.
3. 1606.—**Agnvs Dei**, a "thumb book," 2 lines on a page. Huth Lib. (unique), printed on vellum; ded. to Pr. Henry. Reissued 1610.

N.B.—Weever contrib. verse to *Dyets Dry Dinner*, by Hy. Buttes, 1599.

PROSE.

1631.—**Ancient Fvnerall Monvments.** B. M. 3 copies. Ded. to Charles I. Full title Hazlitt *Handbook*, and Lowndes. Repr. 1767, ed. W. Tooke. MS. of this valuable and incomplete antiquarian work on our sepulchral inscriptions, etc., is in Somerset House.

WHETSTONE, GEORGE. fl. 1576—87. Poet and Miscellaneous Writer.

Corser XI. 382-92. Collier *Bibl. Cat.* II. 504-11. Hazlitt *Handbook* 650-2. Brydges *Cens. Literar.* Vols. IV. and V. (see Index to each). *Brit. Bibliog.*, Vols. I., II., IV. (see Index). E. W. viii. 283-4. Lowndes, pp. 2889-90.

VERSE.

1. 1576.—**The Rocke of Regard.** B. M. (full title E. W. viii. 284). Mostly verse. Three copies known. Repr. [1870], ed. Collier.
2. Metrical Lives or "Remembrances."
   (*a*) [1577].—n.d. **A Remembraunce of . . . Geo. Gaskoigne.** 13 pp. Bodl. (Malone), unique. Reprinted Chalmers' *Poets*, 1810, II. 457-66; 1815, Bristol, 10 copies; 1821, with Gascoigne's "Princely Pleasures"; 1868, in Arber *Reprints* of G.'s "Steele Glas."
   (*b*) [1578].—**A Remembraunce of . . . Sir Nicholas Bacon.**
   (*c*) [1583].—**A Remembraunce of . . . Sir James Dier** (d. Mar. 24, 1582).
   (*d*) 1583.—**A Remembraunce of . . . Thos. Earl of Sussex.** (d. June 11, 1583). B. M.

(*e*) 1586.—**Sir Phillip Sidney his honorable Life,** etc. etc. 1816.—The last 4 repr., *Auchinleck Press*, Sir A. Boswell.

(*f*) 1585.—**A Mirror of the treue Honour . . . of Ld. Frauncis Earle of Bedford.** Repr. *Heliconia*, Vol. II.

DRAMA.

1578.—**The right excellent and famous Historye of Promos and Cassandra.** B. M. Repr. *Dodsley* 1744; Nicholl's *Six Old Plays* 1779—*Shakespeare Lib.* II. ed. Collier—Halliwell's ed. of Shakespeare, III. 237. See Collier *Hist. Eng. Dram. Poet.* II. 450-3 (ed. 1879).

PROSE.

i. 1582.—**An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses,** etc. (interspersed with verse). B. M. Another ed. entitled **Avrelia** in 1593. "Promos and Cassandra" here appears as a prose tale; this is repr. *Shak. Lib.* II. 1843, and Cassell's *Nat. Lib.* Vol. 205, 1886.

ii. 1584.—**A Mirror for Magestrates of Cyties,** etc. B. M. 41 l. An account of the "ordinances" of Emp. Severus, followed by a **Touchstone for the time,** applying the lessons to England. 1586, unsold copies reissued as **The Enemie of Unthryftinesse.** (B. M.) The list of his works (10 printed and 3 "ready to be printed") given by Whetstone at the end of this is repr. *Cens. Lit.* IV. 273, *Heliconia* II., and Collier *Poet. Decam.* II. 39.

iii. 1585.—**The honorable Repvtation of a Souldier,** etc. B. M. Repr. 1586 (B. M.), in Eng. and Dutch in parallel columns. See Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 509-10.

iv. 1586.—**The English Myrror . . .** *wherein al estates may behold the conquestts of Enuy.* Pp. 249. B. M. Valuable for history. The commonest of Wh.'s works. Contains a few verses. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 507-8.

v. [1587].—n.d. **The Censvre of a loyall Subiect: Vpon . . . fourteene notable Traitors.** 26 l. A memorandum on one copy gives the date "Jan. 1586-7, price 4d." Edited by T. Churchyard. There were 2 ed. of the tract; the second gives an account of Mary of Scots, "cut off by Justice 1586." Repr. Collier *Illust. of Early Eng. Pop. Lit.* II. 1863.

N.B.—Lowndes, p. 2,890, mentions two other works.

WHITGIFT, JOHN. 1533?—1604. Archbishop of Canterbury.

Life and Acts of J. W. John Strype, 1718; repr. *Clar. Press*, 3 vols. 1822, with portrait. Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*, 4 vols. 1709-31; repr. *Clar. Press*, 4 vols. 1824. *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* (Dean Hook) X. 121-189; and his *Eccles. Biog.* VIII. 743-58. *Athen. Cantab.* II. 369-379 gives list of 91 works (p. 553 adds one more), and elaborate references to authorities.

WORKS.—*Parker Soc.* 3 vols. 1851-3, ed. Rev. John Ayre.

WILKINS, GEO. (the elder?). d. 1603. Dramatist.

Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* I. 202, gives what scanty information we have.

n.d.; [1604? B. M. Cat.] **Three Miseries of Barbary: Plague. Famine. Ciuill warre.** B. M. A tract of 15 leaves.

PLAYS.

1. 1607.—**The Miseries of Inforst Mariage.** Repr. 1611, '29, and '37 (all in B. M.); in *Dodsley* 1780, 1825; in Hazlitt's ed. 1874, Vol. X.; and *Ancient Brit. Drama*, II.
2. 1607.—**The Travailes of the three English Brothers, Sir Thomas, Sir Anthony [and] Mr. Robert Shirley.** B. M. An historical play, wr. with Wm. Rowley and John Day.

WILKINS, GEO. (the younger?). fl. 1608. Romance Writer.

1608.—**The Painfull Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre** (full title E. W. xi. 89). 2 copies known, B. M. (*imperf.*); and Public Lib. Zurich. (The latter, Repr. 1857, by Prof. Mommsen. B. M.) Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 521-4. The work is of interest as being founded on the "play" of Pericles: narratives usually precede and are the sources of plays.

N.B.—Wilkins aided Dekker in **Jests to make you merry.** (See *Dekker.*) Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II. 521-4, and I. 202.

NOTE.—Some do not thus distinguish two authors.

WILLES, RICHARD. fl. 1573-7. Latin Poet.

Athen. Cantab. I. 398, 567. Wood (Bl.) I. 415.

1573.—**Riccardi Willei Poematum Liber.** 44 l., together with a *Scholia* on it, and a *Disputatio de re poetica.* B. M.

1577.—R. Eden's *Hist. of Travel in West and East Indies* (see *Eden*) was "newly set in order, augmented and finished" by R. W.

? WILLOBIE (WILLOUGHBY), HENRY. 1575—1596? Poet.

1594.—**Willobie, his Avisa.** B. M. Full title and description, E. W. x. 483-7. Repr. 1596, 1605, 1609, 1635. Extracts pr. Ellis *Specimens* II. 378; *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, IX. 59-60; and *Shak. Allusion Books*, Pt. I. 1874, pp. 169-76. The work repr. *in toto*, together with Peter Colse's "Penelope's Complaint," by Grosart, 1880. pp. 200, with Introd. pp. xxxii. This and C. M. Ingleby's General Introd. to the *New Shak. Soc.* "Allusion Books" *supra*, pp. xxviii.-xxxi., tell all that is known. If W. be a real person, he was born 1575, and died between Oct. 1, 1594, and June 30, 1696, the dates of the 1st and second ed. of the work. The latter refers to him as "late

gone to God." Prof. Dowden, *Shakspere's Sonnets*, ed. 1881, Introd. p. 39-43, deals with the possible relation to the Sonnets.

WILMOT, ROBERT. fl. 1568—1619. Dramatist and Clergyman?

1591.—**The Tragedie of Tancred and Gismund,** *newly reuiued and polished according to the decorum of these days by R. W.* (Bridgewater House.) Some copies are dated 1592, *e.g.* Bodl. B. M., etc.—"but there was only a single edition." (Hazlitt). Repr. Hazlitt's *Dodsley* VII.; H. gives, from Lansdowne MS. 786 and Hargrave MS. 205, specimens of the play as originally acted, 1568, at the Inner Temple; (introd. pp. 4-6). The Acts are thus signed in the MS.—I. *Rod Staff;* II. *Hen. No.* (*i.e.* Noel); III. *G. All.;* IV. *Ch. Hat.* (*i.e.* Hatton); V. after the Epilogue *R. W.* (*i.e.* R. Wilmot). Two acts, therefore, are by unknown writers. Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poet.* II. 398-9 (ed. 1879).

N.B.—R. W. has been identified with the clergyman of that name mentioned in R. Newcourt's *Repertorium* II. 447, 1710; hence the date assigned for his death *supra*. Hazlitt, *Handbook*, attrib. 2 other plays (here given under *Rob. Wilson*), to Wilmot. This is most unlikely if Wilmot took orders.

WILSON, ROBERT. fl. 1584?—1600. Dramatist.

1. 1594.—**The Coblers Prophesie.** B. M. (imperf.). Bodl. (Malone). See Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poet.* II. 65-7 (ed. 1879).
2. 1600.—**The first part of the true historie of the life . . . of Sir John Old-castle.** B. M. 2 copies. (See *Hathway.*)

Attributed to—

1. 1584.—**The three Ladies of London,** "written by R. W." Repr. 1592; and in Hazlitt's *Dodsley* VI. Attrib. by Hazlitt in *Handbook* to R. Wilmot, with No. 2 *infra*.
2. 1590.—**The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London,** "by R. W." (See *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Englischen Dramas.* Hans Fernow, Hamburg. 1885. 4°. pp. 29) Repr. *Roxburghe Club* in "Five Old Plays"; and Hazlitt's *Dodsley* VI. 1874.
3. 1595.—**The Pedlers Prophecie** (*anon.*). B. M. and Bodl. A kind of Interlude like the "Coblers Prophesie." Attrib. by Hazlitt *Handbook* 659; following Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poet.* II. 65-7 (Note).

N.B.—Henslowe's Diary mentions a number of lost plays.

WILSON, SIR THOMAS. Master of St. Catharine's Hospital.

1. 1551.—**The Rule of Reason, conteining the Arte of Logique** etc. B. M. Ded. to Ed. VI. One of the earliest works of its kind. Often repr. B. M. has 7 ed. up to 1580. This work

alludes to *Ralph Roister Doister* (see *Udall*) 15 years before it was published. (Collier, *Hist. of Dram. Poet.* II. 352, 1879.)

ii. 1553.—**The Arte of Rhetorique.** B. M. Repr. 1562, '80, '84, and '85; (all in B. M.). Our earliest work on criticism.

iii. Other works are—1551, *Vita et obitus . . . H. and C. Brandoni;* 1552, *D. G. Haddoni . . . Cantabrigiensis*, ed. by Sir T. W.; 1570, 7 orations of Demosthenes, Englished (3 Olynthiac and 4 Philippic); 1572, *A discourse upon usurie by way of dialogue.* All in B. M.

WYATT, SIR THOMAS (the elder). 1503—42. Poet, Courtier.

Wood (Bl.) I. 124-30. *Athen. Cantab.* I. 80-1 (with references). Life by Dr. Nott, in his ed. of the Poems 1816.—Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poet.* Section xxxviii.—*Gentleman's Magazine*, N. S. xxxiii. 563 and xxxiv. 235.—1886, *Sir T. Wyatt und seine Stellung in der . . . Englischen Litteratur*, pp. 143, by R. Alscher in the Vienna *Beiträge zur Deutschen und Englischen Philologie*, ed. R. Heinzel.

POEMS.—In Anderson's *Poets*, Vol. I.; Chalmers' *Poets*, Vol. II.; 1816, with Surrey's poems (ed. Geo. Fred. Nott, D.D., with life); 1831, ed. Sir H. Nicholas; 1861, as Vol. IV. of Nichol's *Lib. edition of the Brit. Poets* (42 vols.), (ed. Rev. Geo. Gilfillan); 1889, ed. W. E. Simonds.

1549.—**Certaine Psalmes . . . commonly called VII. penytentiall Psalmes . . .** *whereunto is added a prolog of the aucthore before every Psalme.* The rest of the Psalter, seemingly alluded to in Leland's *Neaniæ in Mortem Thomæ Viati*, 1542, is lost.

1557.—In *Songes and Sonnettes* ("Tottel's Miscellany"). 90 poems; 6 others being added in second ed.

N.B.—The Prose *Defence of Sir Thos. Wyatt* before the Privy Council, 1541, will be found printed in the various ed. of his poems.

YOUNG, BARTHOLOMEW. d. 1621. Translator.

Collier *Bibl. Cat.* II. 553. Wood (Bl.) I. 554 *n.*

1. 1586—Trans. from Italian of Bk. IV. of Guazzo's **Civile Conversation.** B. M. The first three books had been pub. 1581 by G. Pettie (q.v.). E. W. viii. 297.
2. 1598.—Montemayor's **Diana,** trans. out of Spanish. B. M. This was completed in 1593, as the date at end shows. Collier repr. a portion in *Shak. Lib.* II. 1843.
3. **Amorous Fiammetta . . .** *First wrytten in Italian by Master John Boccace, and now done into English by B. Giovano del M. Temp* (Bridgewater House). Young's name given in full in the Dedication. Coll. *Bibl. Cat.* II. 553.

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